

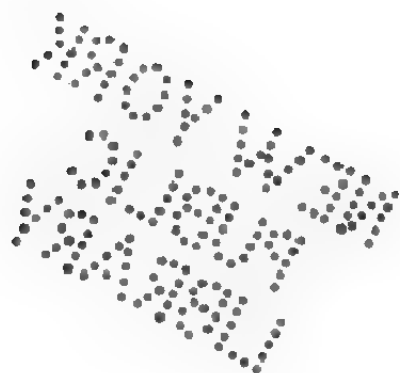
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THE FIRST GEORGE



*George I.
From a portrait by Kneller in the possession of
Alexander, Count Kielmansegg.*





THE
FIRST GEORGE
IN HANOVER AND ENGLAND

BY LEWIS MELVILLE, *second ed.*

Author of "Former George" &c.

WITH EIGHTEEN PORTRAITS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

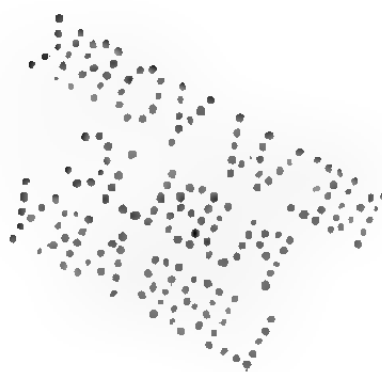
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From an old print in the British Museum

ST. JAMES'S PALACE IN 1714

THE FIRST GEORGE

VOL. II

CHAPTER XVII

THE CHARACTER OF GEORGE I

It rarely happens that a very unpopular man is so bad as he is portrayed, for those who paint his portrait, carried away by enthusiasm for the cause they support, see the scars as deep, disfiguring wounds, and altogether neglect to notice the redeeming features. In the case of George I, it is surprising how many good qualities he possessed, which few of his English contemporaries could see, or, seeing, were sufficiently impartial to record.

His personal courage was never in question, for he had proved it again and again on the field of battle, and, indeed, so well known was this to his immediate circle that in 1715 they realised that there was the danger of his losing his life as well as his kingdom if the Pretender succeeded in his enterprise, for under no circumstances would George have sought refuge in flight. Even after the murderous attacks on the Prince of Wales in 1716 and on himself two years later, he frequently went about the capital of his new Kingdom, to the great distress of his advisers, without any escort.

I

Vol. II.—1—(1004)

Even Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, who wrote him down blockhead, was constrained to add that he was an honest blockhead. Honest he was according to his lights, and loyal, too : " It is the rule and maxim of my family to reward their friends, do justice to their enemies, and fear none but God,"¹ he declared not long after he landed in England ; and of deviation from this rule and maxim he was never accused even by his bitterest detractors. Indeed, the rewards he bestowed upon his servants formed the basis of complaints made against him. To his enemies, indeed, he was more than just, for he tempered justice with mercy, and not infrequently with generosity. When the Earl of Nithsdale made his escape from prison on the night before he was executed, the Deputy-Lieutenant of the Tower hastened to St. James's Palace to inform the King and to vindicate himself from any suspicion of negligence or treachery. George was entertaining a party of the nobility, but when he heard of this visitor, he had him brought in. The Deputy-Lieutenant began by saying that he had ill news to impart. " What ! " cried his Majesty, " is the city on fire, or is there a new insurrection ? "

" Neither, Sire, but Lord Nithsdale has escaped."

" Is that all ? " said George. " It was the wisest

¹ *Political State of Great Britain*, Vol. VIII, p. 327.

GEORGE I AND THE PRETENDER 3

thing he could do, and what I would have done in his place. *And pray, Mr. Lieutenant, be not too diligent in searching after him, for I wish for no man's blood.*"

Nowhere was George's common-sense more in evidence than when he was brought into connection with the Pretender's adherents: indeed, in his treatment of the Jacobites he showed himself possessed of unsuspected good-breeding and a touch of tenderness.

When a masked lady at a ball asked him to fill his glass, and then invited him to drain it to the toast of the Pretender, "I will drink," he replied with a bow to his unknown companion, "I will drink with all my heart to the health of any unfortunate Prince!"

Told that an acquaintance of long standing, on hearing the news of his accession to the English throne, had remarked, "I have no objection to smoke a pipe with him as Elector of Hanover, but I cannot recognise him as King of England," far from being angry, George expressed his regret that political differences should separate him from a man he loved.¹

Once when on the Continent, *en route* for Hanover, the King's coach broke down, and, seeing in the distance a castle, he sent to beg assistance.

¹ *Percy Anecdotes* (ed. Timbs), Vol. I, p. 70.

The castle belonged to a German nobleman, who at once came in person, and begged to be allowed the honour to entertain his Majesty while the necessary repairs were being made to the vehicle. The King gladly accepted the invitation, and after dinner the host showed him a collection of pictures he had gathered during his many visits to Italy. The latter had forgotten that among them, in the place of honour, was a portrait of a person in the robes and with the regalia of a sovereign of Great Britain. This attracted the attention of George, who, not recognising the face, enquired who it was. The nobleman nervously replied that it was the Chevalier de St. George, whose acquaintance he had made during a stay at Rome, and who had subsequently done him the honour to send the picture. "Upon my word," said the King, with ready tact dispelling his host's embarrassment, "it is very like to the family."¹

George I could be gracious, as when he said to Cadogan, "*Vous avez beaucoup d'amis en Hollande, et vous m'avez rendu bien des services*"; and generous when occasion called for it, as when a few months after his accession he presented the Sheriffs of London with £1,000, to be applied to the release of insolvent debtors, and in 1722, during a

¹ Horace Walpole: *Reminiscences of the Courts of George I and George II*, p. cxxi; *Walpoliana*, Vol. I, p. 127.

progress through the English provinces, at his own expense he released from gaol all prisoners confined for debt in any town through which he passed : he had indeed a sympathy, little understood in those days, for the miserable wretches cast into prison not for their faults, but on account of their misfortunes.

At the siege of Fort St. Philip a young lieutenant of marines lost both his legs by a chain shot. He was brought to England, and his sorry plight represented in official quarters, but nothing more was granted than half-pay, a pittance upon which it was impossible to live. The only appeal was to the King, and Major Manson arranged that the lieutenant should be taken to Court on a public day in his uniform ; and there the young man stood in the ante-room supported by two of his brother officers.

" Behold, Sire," he cried as the King was passing, " a man who refuses to bend his knee to you ; he has lost both in your service."

George looked at the unhappy man, and spontaneously asked what had been done for him.

" Half-pay, please your Majesty," replied the lieutenant.

" Fie, fie on't," said the King, shaking his head ;
" but let me see you again at my next *levée*."

The marine did not fail to appear, when George

with his own hand gave him five hundred pounds, and informed him that he had settled upon him two hundred a year for life.¹

This and similar actions were especially meritorious, because George was never a seeker after popularity. If he did not try to hide his faults, he certainly did not make any attempt to parade his virtues. People must take him as he was, seems to have been his attitude.

George had the saving grace of a sense of humour, not very brilliant, indeed, and sometimes coarse, but sufficiently keen. He was moved to uproarious mirth when the Duchess Dowager of Bolton, a natural daughter of the Duke of Monmouth,² who amused him by affecting to make mistakes, told him she had been at the play of "*La Dernière Chemise de l'Amour*," as she translated Colley Cibber's comedy, "Love's Last Shift"; and he roared with laughter when she pretended to come to Court in a great fright, because, she said, she had attended a lecture of William Wharton, who said that the world would be burnt in three years :

¹ *Percy Anecdotes*, (ed. Timbs), Vol. I, p. 11.

² There were many illegitimate children of royalty at the Court of George I. "One can't move here for bastards," said the Prince of Wales angrily, when George, Duke of Northumberland, Charles II's son, by accident touched him. "Sir," said the Duke, "my father was as great a King as yours, and as for our mothers, the less we say about them the better!"—*Reliquia Hearnianæ*.

"For my part," she remarked, "I am determined to go to China!"¹

"He said a world of sprightly things," Lady Cowper paid tribute to George; and gave an instance when the Duchess of Shrewsbury said to him, "*Sire, nous sommes en colère contre votre majesté, de ce que vous ne voulez pas vous faire peindre; et voici votre médaille qui donnera votre effigie à la postérité, où vous avez un nez long comme le bras.*" "Tant mieux," said George, "*c'est une tête à l'antique!*"² Again, it was said of Madame Tron, the beautiful wife of the Venetian Ambassador, that her husband, who was very jealous of her, used to beat her, and that on such occasions she would cry, "*Prenez garde à mon visage,*" for, she said, if her face were spoilt she would have nothing to live for. At one of the Drawing-Rooms there was a great crowd, and as Madame Tron made her cry all night long, "*Entendez-vous l'Ambassadrice?*" said the King, to someone who was standing by him. "*Elle vous abandonne tout le reste du corps, pourvu que vous ayez soin du visage.*"³

Even George's humour was perverted by his enmities, and the following remark, instead of

¹ *Walpoliana*, Vol. I, pp. 15-16.

² Lady Cowper: *Diary*, November 1, 1714; p. 12.

³ Lady Cowper: *Diary*, January 6, 1715, p. 43.

being taken as it was intended, has since been given in numberless books as a specimen of his meanness. "This is a strange country," he observed, shortly after he came to England. "The first morning after my arrival at St. James's, I looked out of the window and saw a park, with walls, canal, etc., which they told me was mine. The next day, Lord Chetwynd, the ranger of *my* park, sent me a fine brace of carp out of *my* canal; and I was told I must give five guineas to Lord Chetwynd's servant for bringing me *my own* carp, out of *my own* canal, in *my own* park!"¹ When one day George laughingly said St. James's Park would make a fine turnip-field, this was at once interpreted as his serious intention, with the result that he was for years alluded to in Jacobite and Tory circles as "the turnip-boor."

George had made the acquaintance of Dr. Lockier when the latter was chaplain to the English factory at Hamburg, and used to pay yearly visits to the Court of Hanover. Some years after, the King, seeing the Doctor at a *levée*, told the Duchess of Ancaster to bring him with her that evening to the royal supper-party. The Duchess came at night, but without Lockier, whose absence she excused to his Majesty as follows:

"The Doctor presents his humble duty to your

¹ Larwood: *Story of the London Parks*, Vol. III, p. 47.

Majesty, and hopes your Majesty will have the goodness to excuse him at present : he is soliciting some preferment from your Majesty's ministers ; and he fears it might be some obstacle to him if it should be known that he had the honour of keeping such good company."

The King laughed heartily, and said he believed the clergyman was in the right. Not long after this episode, Dr. Lockier kissed hands for the Deanery of Peterborough, when George whispered in his ear :

" Well now, Doctor, you will not be afraid to come in one evening : I would have you come this evening."¹

George's pleasures were very simple. He loved hunting and never missed an opportunity to indulge in this sport even when he had attained middle-age, a taste that should have endeared him to his new subjects ; and he was fond of dancing and of attending masquerades. " The masquerade flourishes more than ever," Sir John Vanburgh wrote to Lord Carlisle, on February 18, 1724. " Some of the Bishops (from the true spirit of the clergy to meddle in everything) had a mind to attack the King about them, which I believe he

¹ Spence : *Anecdotes*, p. 58.

Francis Lockier (1667-1740), the friend of Dryden and Pope, was appointed Dean of Peterborough in 1725.

did not like, for he took occasion to declare aloud in the drawing-room that whilst there were masquerades he would go to them. This, with what the Bishops understood from some ministers they applied to, made them think it might be as well to be quiet. The Bishop of London, however, during this (*sic*, Lent ?) preached one very spiritless sermon on the subject, which I believe has not lost Heydegger one single ticket.”¹

George certainly had no leaning to science in any of its branches, and took very little interest in any art except music. “Bainting and Boetry” gave him no pleasure, though he subscribed two hundred pounds to Pope’s *Homer*; and, under the pretext of hunting, twice visited Tewin House, near Hertford, the property of General Sabine, who had spent forty thousand pounds on building and furnishing it, and inspecting the fine marble hall and staircase, the collection of pictures, and the fine frescoes.² His taste for music took him frequently to the opera, though, however, instead of appearing there in state, he usually went in a sedan-chair, accompanied by his Turkish servants,

¹ *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, Report XV, App. VI, p. 48.

The Bishop of London since 1720 was Edmund Gibson (1669–1748).

² De Saussure: *A Foreign View of England in the Reigns of George I and George II*, p. 307.

instead of lords and grooms in waiting, and sat in the box of the Duchess of Kendal ; where his presence was not observed by, and was often unknown to, the audience.¹

The drama had also its attraction for George, and in 1718 he ordered the great hall of Hampton Court Palace to be converted into a theatre, where plays were to be given twice a week during the summer season, though as the work took longer than expected, it was not ready until the middle of September. However, seven plays were given before the King, who expressed and showed his pleasure at certain passages, and notably at the scene in *Henry VIII*, his favourite play, where the monarch commands Wolsey to send letters of indemnity into every county where the payment of heavy taxes had been disputed, and Wolsey, desirous to secure the credit of this leniency, whispers the following directions to his secretary Cromwell—

“ A word with you.

Let there be letters writ in every shire
Of the King's grace and pardon : the griev'd commons
Hardly conceive of me ; let it be nois'd
That through our intervention this revokement
And pardon comes : I shall anon advise you
Further in the proceeding.”²

¹ Lady Louisa Stuart : *Anecdotes* (Lady M. W. Montagu : *Letters*, ed. Thomas, Vol. I, p. xcv).

² Act I, Scene II.

This suggests that George must have had some knowledge of England, but we are told by Davies, that at this exhibition of ministerial craft the courtiers laughed so loud, that the King asked the reason of their mirth, and, when it was explained to him, joined in the merriment.¹ However, Colley Cibber did not notice the conversation, and as the King had seen the play in question at Drury Lane, it is improbable that it occurred at the performance in question. Probably George understood something of the English language, though to the end of his days he could not speak it, and always used Latin as a means of communication with Sir Robert Walpole.²

¹ Thomas Davies: *Dramatic Miscellanies*, Vol. I, p. 365.

² "George I did not understand English: my father brushed up his old Latin, to use a phrase of Queen Elizabeth, in order to converse with the first Hanoverian sovereign."—Horace Walpole.

In support of the King's ignorance of English the following anecdote is frequently adduced, but a man may have some slight acquaintance with the language, and yet not know what "chimney-sweep" denotes.

Prince William (afterwards Duke of Cumberland) was, as a child, carried to his grandfather on his birthday.

The King asked him at what hour he rose.

"When the chimney-sweeps go about," was the reply.

"Vat is de chimney-sweep?" asked his Majesty.

"Have you been so long in England, and do not know what a chimney-sweep is?" the boy said in astonishment.

"Why, they are like that man there," pointing to Lord Finch, afterwards Earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham, of a family

The King was so pleased with the performances that he directed the Duke of Newcastle, then Lord Chamberlain, to have the warrant made out not only for the £374 1s. 8d., the stipulated payment, but for £574 1s. 8d. "I imagined his Grace's favour or recommendation of our readiness or diligence must have contributed to so high a consideration of it, and was offering my acknowledgments as I thought then due, but was soon stopped short by his Grace's declaration that we had no obligations for it, but to the King himself"; thus Colley Cibber noted in his autobiography¹; and the actor, not to be outdone in courtesy, dedicated his anti-Jacobin play, "The Non-Juror," to his Majesty, who had witnessed a performance of it at Drury Lane: "In a time when all communities congratulate your Majesty on the glories of your reign, which are continually arising from the prosperities of your people, be graciously pleased, Dread Sire, to permit the lowliest of your subjects from the theatre to take this occasion of offering their most humble acknowledgment for your royal favour a production. . . ."

uncommonly dark and swarthy—"the black funereal Finches" of Sir Charles Hanbury-Williams' *Ode to a Number of Great Men*.—Walpole: *Reminiscences of the Courts of George I and George II*, p. ci.

¹ *An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber, written by Himself*; edited by R. W. Lowe; Vol. I, p. 216-218.

George was addicted to the pleasures of the table, and was, perhaps, happiest after supper in the apartments of the Duchess of Kendal, when, surrounded by a few of his intimates, he would smoke a pipe and drink beer. On such occasions there was no ceremony, and he appeared at his best: "liberty and gaiety reigned supreme,"¹ says De Saussure; and even Jesse, his most uncompromising assailant, admits that the King was at such times, "especially over his punch, a cheerful and sometimes an amusing companion."² In the later years of his reign, to the distress of the Duchess, he showed a predilection for the company of Walpole, with whom he would often dine informally at Richmond. The King repaid this hospitality right royally, by buying the rangership of Richmond Park from Lord Clarendon and presenting it to the Minister's eldest son.

Though George was so averse to the parade of state, he so far conformed to what was expected from him as to hold two Drawing-Rooms a week, but these functions seem to have been very dreary, except on Twelfth Night, when the Court, according to custom, played Hazard for the benefit of the Groom Porter, and the introduction

¹ *A Foreign View of the Courts of George I and George II.* p. 45.

² *Memoirs of the Court of England*, Vol. II, p. 306.

LADY MARY WORTLEY MONTAGU 15

of cards enlivened the evening. As head of a Court, this King was not happy, and, being a silent, shy man, he could not put others at ease ; but although he did not love to talk, he was always pleased to hear others, and any agreeable, vivacious person was welcomed by him. A great favourite with him was brilliant Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, who went to St. James's, but, as it was very dull there, was often glad to go instead to some less august and more amusing assembly. One evening Lady Mary particularly desired to leave early, and induced the Duchess of Kendal to persuade the King to dismiss her. The King reluctantly acquiesced, though when Lady Mary made her bow, he declared it was an act of perfidy to run away ; but, in spite of that and other complimentary remarks, she at last contrived to make her escape. At the foot of the staircase she met Mr. Secretary Craggs, who, seeing her leave so early, enquired if the King had retired ; but she reassured him on that point, and dwelt complacently on the King's reluctance to let her go. Craggs made no remark, but took her in his arms, ran upstairs, and deposited her in the ante-chamber, whereupon the pages at once threw open the doors leading to the King's apartment. "*Ah ! la re-voila,*" cried his Majesty and the Duchess of Kendal, and expressed their

pleasure that she had changed her mind ; but Lady Mary was so flustered that, instead of maintaining a discreet silence, she burst out, " Oh Lord, Sir, I have been so frightened ! " and related her adventure. She had scarcely finished her narrative, when the door was thrown open, and Mr. Secretary Craggs was announced. He entered calmly, and made his bow as if nothing had happened, but the King strode up to him, and said angrily : "*Mais, comment, donc, Monsieur Craggs, est ce que c'est l'usage de ce pays de porter des belles dames comme un sac de froment*" ? (" Is it the custom of this country to carry about fair ladies as if they were a sack of wheat " ?). The culprit was dumfounded by the unexpected attack, and glanced reproachfully at Lady Mary for having betrayed him, but, soon finding his wits, parried it with, " There is nothing I would not do for your Majesty's satisfaction." ¹

¹ *Introductory Anecdotes, By Lady Louisa Stuart* (Lady Mary Wortley Montagu: *Works*; ed. Thomas; Vol. I, pp. xcv-xcvi).



From a portrait by Kneller in the possession of Alexander, Count Kulmannsagg

SOPHIA, LADY DARLINGTON

CHAPTER XVIII

SOPHIA, COUNTESS OF DARLINGTON

"GRACIOUS goodness! how do lies begin?" Thackeray asked in one of his charming little "Roundabout" essays, annoyed at hearing of some particularly mendacious story concerning him that was being circulated through the town; and he recovered his equanimity only when he reflected that good report or ill would not matter a hundred years hence. Yet a hundred years is not too long for an unfounded slander to endure, and even in these days of scientific criticism, many false estimates survive of characters that figure in history.

It has been said in a previous chapter that the general opinion of George I was and is that he was a very immoral man, and that when he came to this country he brought in his train a group of mistresses, including his two favourites, her who is known to us as the Duchess of Kendal, and the Baroness von Kielmansegg (*née* Platen), afterwards elevated to the dignity of Countess of Darlington. It would manifestly be unfair to assume that these statements originated in Jacobite circles, and, indeed, a more feasible theory is

that they arose out of the ignorance of the English who, having a strong prejudice against foreigners and believing that all foreign women were "light," jumped to the conclusion that all females in the King's suite were his mistresses. Once utterance was given to this belief it was sedulously promulgated through the length and breadth of the land by the Pretender's adherents and other enemies of the Crown, and Horace Walpole relates, "the seraglio was food for all the venom of the Jacobites ; and, indeed, nothing could be grosser than was vomited out in lampoons, libels, and every channel of abuse against the Sovereign and the new Court and chanted even in their hearing in the public streets."¹ One of the poor women, driving in London, was so much abused by the mob, that she put her head out of the coach, and cried in bad English, "Good people, why you abuse us ? We come for all your goods !" "Yes, damn you," cried a voice, "and for all our chattels too !"

Yet George I did not bring to England a harem, and of the two "favourites" one certainly was not his mistress.

It has already been said that it was accepted

¹ *Reminiscences of the Courts of George I and George II*, p. cxi.

"This couple of rabbits [i.e., the 'favourites'] occasioned much jocularly on their first importation."—*Walpoliana*, Vol. I, p. 59.

without question in England that the Baroness von Kielmansegg was George's mistress ; and it may now be added that it was further assumed that her daughter, Sophia Charlotte Mary, who married Emanuel, second Viscount Howe, was her child by the King. These statements were repeated by all contemporary and subsequent English and by several German memoirists and historians ; and many of them can be traced to the posthumous memoirs of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. It is not surprising that Lady Mary was regarded as an authority, for she was intimate with the King, who had a *penchant* for her, and she had visited Hanover ; but notwithstanding these opportunities for learning the truth, she knew so little about the Baroness von Kielmansegg as entirely to misrepresent the facts. She it was who spread the slander that the Baroness " had once appeared so charming to the King, that it was said the divorce and ruin of his beautiful Princess, the Duke of Celle's daughter, was owing to the hopes her mother (who was declared mistress to the King's father, and all powerful in his Court) had of setting her daughter in her place." ¹ Greater ignorance on the subject than that of Lady Mary could not well be. The divorce and ruin of Sophia

¹ Lady Mary Wortley Montagu : *Letters and Works* (ed. Thomas), Vol. I., p. 6.

Dorothea were the inevitable result of her guilty intrigue with Count Philip von Königsmark, and the possibility of George marrying a commoner is not to be entertained. His uncle, George William, had done so, it is true ; but such things did not happen twice in a generation in the royal houses of Germany. Lady Mary erroneously states that the Baroness was separated from her husband, but she was, however, sufficiently well-informed to have a doubt of the Baroness being George's mistress. " She arrived at the same time with the King in England," Lady Mary wrote, as if determined not to commit herself ; " which was enough to make her called his mistress, or at least so great a favourite, that the whole Court began to pay her uncommon respect."

The story lost nothing by repetition, and when Horace Walpole in 1788 wrote his *Reminiscences of the Courts of George I and George II* for the entertainment of his "twin-wives" it ran as follows : " Another acknowledged mistress, whom George brought over, was Madame Kielmansegg, Countess of Platen, who was created Countess of Darlington, and by whom he was indisputably the father of Charlotte, married to Lord Viscount Howe, and mother of the present earl (Admiral Lord Howe). Lady Howe was never acknowledged as the King's daughter, but Princess Amelia

treated her daughter, Mrs. Howe, upon that foot, and one evening, when I was present, gave her a ring, with a small portrait of George I with a crown of diamonds." Walpole, of course, can only have written from hearsay of the relations of George I and the Baroness, as the latter died in 1725, when Horace was eight years old ; and though he was an eye-witness of the gift of the ring to Mrs. Howe, that can scarcely be taken as proof of relationship between the donor and the recipient.

Ten years later Archdeacon Coxe revived the subject in his biography of Sir Robert Walpole, and he, too, accepted the charge as proven. "George's other mistress," he said, after writing of the Duchess of Kendal, "was Sophia Charlotte, daughter of the Count of Platen, and wife of Baron von Kielmansegg, Master of the Horse, from whom she was separated." It has already been stated that the Baroness was never separated from her husband. "Her power over the King was not equal to that of the Duchess of Kendal," he continued, "but although she was younger, and more accomplished than her rival, several persons about the Court, conceiving her influence to be greater than it really was, ineffectually endeavoured to rise by her means."¹

¹ Coxe : *Life of Sir Robert Walpole*, Vol. I, p. 152.

Passing over many forgotten writers, we come at last to Jesse, who states that "George had the folly and wickedness to encumber himself with a seraglio of hideous German prostitutes."¹ Here a halt must be called to suggest that the virulence with which the "favourites" were pursued may be traced to the belief that they were hideous hags. "We are ruined by trulls; nay, what is more vexatious, by old ugly trulls, such as could not find entertainment in the most hospitable hundreds of Old Drury," so ran a passage in *Mist's Journal* of May 27, 1721—for which impertinence Mist, as the printer, was summoned to the Bar of the House of Commons, and sentenced to fine and imprisonment. Horace Walpole described Lady Darlington as immensely big and immensely corpulent and he christened her "Elephant and Castle." "Two fierce black eyes, large and rolling between two lofty arched eyebrows; two acres of cheeks spread with crimson, an ocean of neck that overflowed, and was not distinguished from the lower part of her body; and no part restrained by stays." But this portrait, which has been accepted by Carlyle and subsequent writers, is of Lady Darlington shortly before death; and it loses its value by the statement that introduces it: "Lady Darlington whom I saw at my mother's

¹ Jesse: *Memoirs of the Court of England*, Vol. II, p. 294.

FURTHER MISREPRESENTATIONS 23

in my infancy. . . ." Horace wrote sixty-three years after the lady was in her grave on the strength of a childish impression. It is to be suspected that Coxe hit upon the truth when he wrote : " She was a woman of great beauty, but [she] became extremely corpulent as she advanced in years." ¹

To return to Jesse. That historian made no investigations, and accepted the story as it was handed down. In his *Memoirs* there is merely a paraphrase of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's account ; but to make matters worse confounded, he applies Lady Mary's description of the Duchess of Kendal to the Baroness von Kielmansegg, and confuses the latter with her brother's wife, and so unjustly slanders that lady too.² It may be remarked, *en passant*, that Baron von Pöllnitz, who should have known better, writing, too, at Hanover, mistakes the sister-in-law for the mother of the Baroness von Kielmansegg, and credits the former, not the latter, with having built the villa of Monplaisir, near Herrenhausen.³

So the scandal pursued the even tenor of its way, growing in size at every repetition, unquestioned in England, until 1858, when it received the

¹ Coxe : *Life of Sir Robert Walpole*, Vol. I, p. 152.

² Jesse : *Memoirs of the Court of England*, Vol. II, p. 330.

³ Pöllnitz : *Memoirs*, Vol. I, p. 67.

first check at the hands of Carlyle, who stumbled upon the truth in the examination of German books, documents, and pedigrees, in connection with the writing of his *Life of Frederick the Great*. In that work he wrote: "This Kielmansegg, Countess of Darlington was, and is, believed by the gossiping English to have been a second simultaneous Mistress of his Majesty's; but seems after all to have been his Half-Sister and nothing more."¹ The "gossiping English" seem to have overlooked, forgotten, or ignored this passage, and the old story had been told again and again by the majority of subsequent historians. Five years ago, however, a further refutation of the slander was given by Dr. A. W. Ward, than whom there is no safer English guide to the intricate history of this period of the House of Brunswick, in his (Goupil) monograph on "The Electress Sophia and the Hanoverian Succession"; but unfortunately this work is issued in a high-priced, limited edition, and the truth is even now known only to a very small circle of readers.

After having pointed out the current misrepresentations, it is time to give the true history of the maligned lady. Sophia Charlotte, born in 1676, was the daughter of the Countess von Platen (*née* Clara Elizabeth von Meysenbuch), not by her

¹ Book V, chap. I.

husband, but by Ernest Augustus, Duke (afterwards Elector) of Hanover, the father of George I ; and therefore she was in blood (though not, of course, in law) the half-sister of George I. Jesse relates that the Countess von Platen brought her daughter to the Electoral Court for the express purpose of establishing her as the mistress of George Lewis ;¹ but this is an outrage even on the "böse Platen," and indeed probably arose out of the confusion in Jesse's mind between the Countess's daughter and her sister, Madame von dem Bussche². "The young lady, however," Jesse continues, "discovered, at least at this period, but little inclination to second the ambitious views of her mother. Indeed, she completely thwarted them by falling in love with a Monsieur Kielmansegg, the son of a merchant of Hamburg, and by conferring on this person the favours which she had refused her sovereign shortly after proved in a fair way to become a mother. As the only means of saving her from immediate disgrace, it was thought expedient to marry her to her seducer. Her mother died shortly after this event (as was supposed, of grief and disappointment), and bequeathed her daughter the large fortune of £40,000, which, in her

¹ *Memoirs of the Court of England*, Vol. II, p. 390.

² See Vol. I, p. 22, of this work.

youth she had obtained from the generosity of her early lover, the Elector Ernest Augustus."¹ How Jesse reconciled this with the statement that immediately precedes it in his book is not easy to see. "The young lady was possessed of an agreeable person and considerable powers of fascination, and such was the effect which they produced on the amorous Elector, that his desertion of his consort, Sophia of Celle, and the subsequent divorce and misery of that unhappy woman, have been traced to this discreditable attachment." If Sophia Charlotte von Platen was not George Lewis's mistress, it is not clear how he can have deserted his consort for her; and if she was his mistress, then the rest of Jesse's statement falls to the ground. But, as a matter of fact, the whole is a tissue of mistakes: the girl was not George Lewis's mistress, "Monsieur Kielmansegge" was not the son of a Hamburg merchant,² but Freiherr (say, Baron) von Kielmansegg, a Court official of good family, afterwards Master of the Horse to the Elector; there is no reason whatever to believe there was a *liaison* between the parties before marriage; her mother died before the marriage, indeed her long illness and then her death in

¹ *Memoirs of the Courts of England*, Vol. II, p. 330.

² Jesse has fallen into this blunder by blindly following Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's narrative.

January 1700 caused the marriage to be postponed until the following year ; and, lastly, it is not easy to believe in the " grief and disappointment " of the Countess at this alliance, for John Adolphus, Baron von Kielmansegg, was at least as good a *parti* as Philip Christopher von Königsmark, at whom she had set her cap for her daughter.

Elizabeth Charlotte, Duchess of Orleans, predicted that ill would come of this union. She did not like von Kielmansegg, and could not bring herself to congratulate the bride. She wrote to her sister, the Electress Sophia, and she mentioned how when someone, hearing the old saw, " Marriages are made in Heaven," retorted that the devil makes them on earth, and she feared that in this instance at least—and, poor lady, she might have added in her own—the cynic might well be in the right. It is clear, however, that the Duchess's forebodings were not fulfilled, for contemporary memoirs speak of the union as happy, and one chronicler refers to the husband and wife as " turtle doves." It was natural that his marriage with one so closely connected by blood with the reigning Elector should lead to the Baron's advancement, and soon after the birth of his first child the bridegroom was sent on a diplomatic mission to the Emperor, and on his return was appointed Vice - Oberstallmeister

(Deputy Master of the Horse). The Kielmanseggs, who occupied a distinguished position in Hanoverian society, built themselves a house which they called "Fantaisie," not far from the Palace of Herrenhausen, and here they entertained largely, and presumed to an extent unwarranted by their means, for when on the death of Queen Anne, George I left Hanover *en route* for England, with Baron von Kielmansegg in attendance as (Hanoverian) Master of the Horse, the Baroness remained behind. "At the beginning of the journey from Herrenhausen to England none of the favourites were with George," Vehse remarked in his *History of the Courts of the House of Brunswick in Germany and England*. "At the Hague, however, the Baroness Kielmansegg joined him. She had fled from Hanover secretly and in disguise, as her creditors would not let her leave the country."

On this incident seems to have been built up the story of the intrigue, and ignorant scandal-mongers saw in it a mistress pursuing her kingly lover, not, as was the case, a devoted woman with four children following her husband. As if, had she been his mistress, George would not have discharged her debts—if, indeed, in such a case, her creditors would have pressed her so hard! It was not until after the death of her husband in

England in 1717, that, as may be gathered from a letter of the Duchess of Orleans dated June 4, 1719, she was given a pension. Again it may be said, had she been the King's mistress, she would have long ere this received grants of money from him, similar to those he bestowed on the Duchess of Kendal !

There was no secrecy observed concerning the paternity of the Baroness. So early as 1702 the Duchess of Orleans alluded to her in her correspondence as the daughter of the Elector Ernest Augustus ; and, it may be added, nowhere in the correspondence of the Duchess or of the Electress Sophia, though the Baroness is often mentioned, is there anything that the most scandal-loving person can twist into a reference to illicit, which, in this case, would also be incestuous, connection between her and George I. At the German Court the relationship was a matter of common knowledge, and George certainly never endeavoured to disavow it, or to surround it with mystery : indeed, at Hanover, he gave her precedence over the *Raogräfen* and *Raogräfinnen* ; and in England he gave her the seat of honour at his table, except on occasions of state, and was a frequent visitor to her house.

“ I cannot express the surprise we are in here at Mademoiselle Schulenburg being naturalised and

made an English Duchess," J. Clavering wrote to Lady Cowper from Hanover, July 7, 1716. "The Countess de Platen is mightily mortified, for you must know we have two parties here more violent than Whig and Tory in England (which are the Schulenburg and Platen factions). Madame Kielmansegg writes here that she is very unwilling to give place to the new Duchess; therefore she will petition Parliament to be naturalised, that she may have a title equal to the other."¹ The half-sister resented having to give the *pas* to the mistress, and she was not entirely appeased when in 1721 she was created Countess of Leinster in the peerage of Ireland, and in the following year Baroness of Brentford and Countess of Darlington in the English peerage.

The knowledge of the Baroness's relation to the King does not seem to have penetrated to England, or, if any rumour came, it was dismissed as apocryphal—though Lady Cowper knew it and believed it—² and the favour shown her by George, together with the pension bestowed on her and the peerages were, of course, misunderstood. Yet the truth was there for all who ran to read, for in the patent of nobility of August 14, 1721, occurs the passage "*sincere dilectam consanguineam nostram*

¹ Lady Cowper: *Diary*, p. 195.

² *Ibid.*, p. 13.

Sophiam Charlotte comitissam Platen et baronissam Kilmansegge ad statum, gradum, stilum, dignitatem, titulum, nomen et honorem comitissae de Lagen in regno nostro Hiberniae praedicto creximus, praefecimus, insignivimus, constituimus et creavimus ;" and the reference to the royal blood is repeated in the later patent ; besides which the patent, in addition, of course, to the great seal, had a miniature portrait of the King, and the arms of the houses of Platen, Kielmansegg, and Great Britain (Brunswick-Lüneburg), with the bar-sinister. Yet all these signs passed unnoticed, almost by a miracle ; and it is not surprising that Erich, Count Kielmansegg, a descendant of the injured lady, in a luminous exposition of the subject,¹ attributes the misrepresentation not to ignorance, but to national hatred.

Lady Darlington, as the Baroness may now be called, was not the *Haus-frau* of the English conception, but a bright and amusing woman of the world, who had mixed with the best society of the day ; and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu thought " she had a greater vivacity in conversation than ever I knew in a German of either sex." ²

¹ *Briefe des Herzogs Ernst August zu Braunschweig-Lüneburg an Johann Franz Diedrich von Wendt aus die Jahren 1703 bis 1726. Herausgegeben von Erich, Graf Kielmansegg. Hanover, 1902.*

² *Letters and Works*, Vol. I, p. 7.

Nor was she illiterate ; she had a taste for reading, and some fondness for the arts ; and she was always anxious to please her guests, among whom were usually to be numbered many men of talent and distinction. Rumour has it that she bestowed her favours upon Paul Methuen, who was incited to pay his addresses to her by Lord Halifax— that statesman hoping in this way to secure the private ear of the King.¹ This would have been after her husband's death ; but where so much has been proved false, it is difficult to believe anything. That she had a passion for flirtation, however, there is no doubt, as the following amusing passage from Lady Cowper's *Diary* (February 4, 1716) goes to show : "Madame Kielmansegg had been told that the Prince [afterwards George II] had said that she intrigued with all the men at Hanover. She came to complain of this to the Princess, who replied, she did not believe the Prince had said so, it not being his custom to speak in that manner. Madame Kielmansegg cried and said it had made her despised, and that many of her acquaintance had left her upon that story, but that her husband had taken all the care he could to vindicate her reputation ; and there-upon she drew forth out of her pocket a certificate under her husband's hand, in which he certified,

¹ Jesse : *Memoirs of the Court of England*, Vol. II, p. 32.

in all the due forms, that she had always been a faithful wife to him ; and that he had never had any cause to suspect her honesty. The Princess smiled, and said that she did not doubt it at all, and that all that trouble was very unnecessary, and that it was a very bad reputation that wanted such a support."

CHAPTER XIX

THE DUCHESS OF KENDAL

THOUGH the Baroness von Kielmansegg was not the mistress of George Lewis, there is little doubt that Fräulein Ehrengard Melusine von der Schulenburg had that invidious distinction. The intrigue began, according to the evidence adduced in a previous chapter,¹ in 1696, when the lady was Maid of Honour to the Electress Sophia ; and to the end of his life he was far more constant to her than was to be expected from a Prince declared to be susceptible to female charms and exposed on every side to temptation. It is generally believed that he married her with the left hand, and though this would convey little or nothing to the English of that day, ignorant of Continental Court customs, it meant much in his native country. Rumour has it that they were married after they came to England, and that the ceremony was performed by the Archbishop of York ; and, though there is no direct evidence, the idea has been accepted by most historians from Horace Walpole to

¹ See Chapter IV of this work.



By permission of Count Werner Schulenburg

THE DUCHESS OF KENDAL

Dr. Ward,¹ and Mr. Walter Sichel even alludes to "talk of the Schulenburg being declared Queen."² In favour of this view is George's constancy, and the facts that he invariably treated her with great respect, and that she always presided at his evening parties; besides, the lady's sedate demeanour and her piety certainly go far to suggest that there may have been such a ceremony, and that she regarded herself as the wife of her sovereign.³ Indeed, her piety was so great that she frequently attended several Lutheran chapels in the same day, though Coxe, on the authority of Etough, declares that the minister of the Lutheran Church in the Savoy refused to admit her to the Sacrament; however, the minister of that denomination in the city was more complaisant.⁴

The lady's affection for George was put to a severe test when he was about to set forth for

¹ Horace Walpole: *Reminiscences of the Courts of George I and George II*, p. cviii; Ward: *The Electress Sophia and the Hanoverian Succession*, p. 144—"Melusine von der Schulenburg . . . in all probability King George I's morganatic wife." Jesse and Thackeray, and many German authorities support this view, though Mahon (*History of England from the Peace of Utrecht*, Vol. I, p. 317) believed it unfounded.

² *Bolingbroke and his Times (The Sequel)*, p. 137.

³ Lady Louisa Stuart: *Anecdotes*. (See Lady M. W. Montagu: *Letters* (ed. Thomas), Vol. I, p. xcv.)

⁴ Coxe: *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole*, Vol. I, p. 152.

London. She had heard that the English were not so loyal to their sovereign but that, if he displeased them, they would cut off his head,¹ and although George endeavoured to reassure her by saying that he had "nothing to fear from the king-killers (the Whigs): they are all my side," her fears were not so lightly to be dispersed. Indeed, she refused to accompany the King, and perhaps might never have come to England, but that she learnt that the Baroness von Kielmansegg intended to brave the dangers of the terrible country, when she decided that what the King's half-sister could do, she also could do. Forthwith she started to join George at The Hague, accompanied by two girls called her nieces, one of whom was so in fact, that daughter of her brother, Frederick Achaz, Count von der Schulenburg and Hedlen; the other, eleven years old, bore a striking resemblance to the King.²

In 1716 Fräulein von der Schulenburg was created in the Irish peerage Baroness of Dundalk, Countess and Marchioness of Duncannon, and

¹ Lady Mary Wortley Montagu: *Works* (ed. Thomas), Vol. I, p. 6.

² This girl, Petronella Melusine von der Schulenburg, was on April 7, 1722, created for life Baroness of Aldborough, co. Suffolk, and Countess of Walsingham, co. Norfolk. She married Philip, Earl of Chesterfield (d. 1773), and died September 16, 1778.

Duchess of Munster, and two years afterwards Baroness of Glastonbury, Countess of Faversham, and Duchess of Kendal for life in the English peerage ; while later, in 1722, desirous to have an equivalent German title she persuaded George to obtain for her from the Emperor Charles VI the dignity of Princess (*Reichsfürstin*) of Eberstein. These distinctions, of course, were but the trappings of power : her real strength lay in her ascendancy over the King, by which, Walpole said, she " was in effect as much Queen of England as ever any was, that he did everything by her." ¹

This, indeed, was so well-known that statesmen of both parties paid court to her, and even the Empress of Germany enlisted her aid in the endeavour to persuade the King to renew the connection between England and the House of Austria ;² while the correspondence of Count de Broglie, French Minister at the Court of St. James's, shows clearly how valuable, if not indeed essential, it was to enlist her support.

" As the Duchess of Kendal seemed to express a wish to see me often, I have been very attentive to her, being convinced that it is highly essential to the advantage of your Majesty's service to be on good terms with her, for she is closely united

¹ Lady Cowper : *Diary*, April 13, 1720, p. 132.

² Coxe : *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole*, Vol. I, p. 151.

with the three ministers who now govern," the Count wrote to Louis XV on July 6, 1724, and four days later returned to the subject: "The more I consider state affairs, the more I am convinced that the Government is entirely in the hands of Mr. Walpole, Lord Townshend, and the Duke of Newcastle, who are on the best terms with the Duchess of Kendal. The King visits her every afternoon from five till eight, and it is there that she endeavours to penetrate the sentiments of his Britannic majesty, for the purpose of consulting the three ministers, and pursuing the measures which may be thought necessary for accomplishing their designs. She sent me word that she was desirous of my friendship, and that I should place confidence in her. I assured her that I would do everything in my power to merit her esteem and friendship. I am convinced that she may be advantageously employed in promoting your Majesty's service, and that it will be necessary to employ her, though I will not trust her further than is absolutely necessary." To these letters Louis replied on July 18: "There is no room to doubt that the Duchess of Kendal, having a great ascendancy over the King of Great Britain, and maintaining a strict union with his ministers, must materially influence their principal resolutions. You will neglect nothing to acquire a share

of her confidence, from a conviction that nothing can be more conducive to my interests. There is, however, a manner of giving additional value to the marks of confidence you bestow on her in private, by avoiding in public all appearances which might seem too pointed ; by which means you will avoid falling into the inconvenience of being suspected by those who are not friendly to the Duchess ; at the same time that a kind of mysteriousness in public on the subject of your confidence, will give rise to a firm belief of your having formed a friendship mutually sincere."

By what means the Duchess secured this influence over the King, which endured until his death, it is not easy to say. She was not young, having been born in December 1667 ; and, though the accounts of her ugliness have been ridiculously exaggerated, she had probably never been good looking, if any reliance is to be placed on the Electress Sophia's comment to Mrs. Howard, "Look at that mawkin, and think of her being my son's passion."¹ On the other hand, De Saussure has described her in 1725 as "a fine, handsome woman,"² and it is known that she had

¹ Horace Walpole : *Reminiscences of the Courts of George I and George II*, p. cx.

² *A Foreign View of the Courts of George I and George II*, p. 45.

blue eyes, fair hair, and a magnificent figure ; she was so tall that she was called in England " The Maypole," but this was probably an added attraction in the eyes of George, himself very short. According to Sir Robert Walpole her intellect was " mean and contemptible,"¹ though as the minister could not speak German, and the lady had no English, his opinion on this matter does not carry much weight. Though gifted with but little intellect, the Duchess cannot have been a fool, else she would scarcely have been able so successfully to trade upon her knowledge of state secrets, derived from hearing the conversations between the ministers and the King, who, as a rule, transacted business at her apartments in St. James's Palace.

Probably, however, she ruled the King, not through his head, but through his heart ; and, well acquainted with his tastes and with his habits, was able to entertain him better than any of her younger rivals, to whom, without a word of reproach, she allowed him to extend his favours. None of the latter, certainly, could take him from her, and night after night he visited her, and would occupy himself for hours, a glass of beer by his side, smoking, and watching her cut paper into different shapes.

¹ Coxe : *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole*, Vol. I, p. 151.

Money seems to have been the Duchess's strongest passion, and probably there was little or no exaggeration in Walpole's allegation that she "would have sold the King's honour for a shilling advance to the best bidder!"¹ She was not content even when, after the resignation in 1716 of the Duke of Somerset of the post of Master of the Horse, the King did not appoint any one to the vacant office, but let her draw the emoluments, seven thousand five hundred a year : although in addition to this handsome income she had the money she had amassed since she won George's favour nearly a score of years before, and she was still in receipt of handsome presents of money from the King. It is, indeed, fair to assume that she interfered in politics, not through any interest in them, but solely with a view to make money, which she did by selling her interest in any quarter that promised good payment. From the promoters of the South Sea scheme she received an enormous sum ; and in connection with the copper coinage in Ireland she netted £14,000 by selling the patent to Wood ; for a monetary consideration she obtained peerages for Sir Richard Child and others ; and further, Coxe states, on the authority of Walpole himself, that Bolingbroke presented her with £11,000 to secure his complete restoration to

¹ Coxe : *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole*, Vol. I, p. 151.

the royal favour. This last was a dangerous business for the lady, who had become nervous and cautious ; but, if on the one hand she was reluctant to offend the ministers, on the other hand she was alarmed at the King's ever-increasing friendliness with Walpole. When she failed in this matter, she endeavoured to throw all the blame on Walpole, who, she declared, had deliberately thwarted the King's designs in his favour : a malicious falsehood.¹

In spite of all her failings, it cannot be doubted, however, that the Duchess was devoted to the King. When she heard of his death, she shut herself up at Brunswick for three months, grieving bitterly. Eventually she returned to England, and lived until her death, in her eighty-fifth year, in 1743, in semi-retirement at Kendal House, Isleworth.² She left her immense wealth to be

¹ Coxe : *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole*, Vol. II, pp. 250-251.

² " I do not know whether it was about the same period, that in a tender mood he promised the Duchess of Kendal, that if she survived him, and it was possible for the departed to return to this world, he would make her a visit. The Duchess, on his death [1727], so much expected the accomplishment of that engagement, that a large raven, or some black fowl, flying into one of the windows of her villa at Isleworth, she was persuaded it was the soul of her departed monarch so accoutred, and received and treated it with all the respect and tenderness of duty, till the royal bird or she took their last flight."—Horace Walpole: *Reminiscences of the Courts of George I and George II*, p. cxix.

divided between her German relations and her so-called niece, the Countess of Chesterfield.¹

¹ In his will the King mentioned the Countess of Walsingham immediately after his legitimate daughter, the Queen of Prussia, and left her a handsome legacy. George II, however, destroyed the document, and declined to carry out its provisions, until Lord Chesterfield threatened an action at law, when he compromised the matter by paying £20,000 to his half-sister.

CHAPTER XX

GEORGE I AND THE PRINCE AND PRINCESS OF WALES

IT has been said by a cynic that George I was undoubtedly of an affectionate nature, for of all the people in the world he hated only three : his mother, his wife, and his son ! His relations with his mother and his wife have already been discussed in this work ; but there is this much truth in the paradoxical remark just quoted, that the King did hate his son, and that he showed himself capable of deep attachment. He was devoted to the Duchess of Kendal, and in a lesser degree to his half-sister, Lady Darlington, and to several of his Hanoverian ministers and intimates, and he had a very sincere regard for his brother, Ernest Augustus, while all the love of which he was capable went out to his sister, Sophia Charlotte, Queen of Prussia, and her death, in 1705, was the greatest blow he ever sustained. She died at Hanover after two days' sickness, and there was entertained a strong suspicion that she had been poisoned with diamond powder before she left Berlin, for when the body



From a painting by G. Kneller

GEORGE, PRINCE OF WALES

was opened the stomach was so worn that a finger co^uld be thrust through at any place. Lady Cowper mentions that many years after Mahomet, the Turk, told her that at the time "The King was in such sorrow, that he was five days without eating or drinking or sleeping, but kept walking and wailing by all the time, and by hitting his toes against the wainscot (which he ever does when he walks), he had worn out his shoes till his toes came out two inches at the foot. He refused to see anyone till Mahomet found the Duke of York in the outward room, and brought him in without asking leave. As soon as he saw the Duke of York, he flung his arms about his neck and said, '*Quelle perte venons-nous de faire, mon frère . . . est-il possible que cette charmante femme nous puisse quitter en si peu de temps*'? When his passion was a little over, they got him to bed"¹

George's behaviour to his son shows him in a worse light than he appears in any other transaction of his life. When he began to hate him is not known, nor is it clear what was the cause of an aversion so strong that it endured through life. It may have been that the Prince took the part of his mother when he was old enough to learn the story—he was only eleven at the time

¹ Lady Cowper: *Diary*, April 24, 1720; pp. 149-150.

of the divorce ; or, more probably and not unnaturally, George from the first looked with disfavour upon the offspring of a woman who had sullied the honour of his House.

The Prince married in 1705 Caroline, daughter of John Frederick, Margrave of Brandenburg-Anspach, and by her had several children : thus presently to be the first Prince of Wales since Edward the Black Prince, to have issue during the lifetime of his father. "*Celle diablesse madame la princesse*," George dubbed his daughter-in-law, and he summed up his son's character, "*Il est fougueux, mais il y a du cœur*" ("He is hot-headed, but he has a heart"). The Prince showed himself an able soldier, and he distinguished himself at Oudenarde, which must have inclined his brave father to him. But the dislike of the Elector was soon confirmed by the unwise course adopted by the Electress Sophia in consulting her grandson, whom she loved, instead of her son, to whom she was indifferent, on matters connected with the Hanoverian succession to the English throne ; and there is no doubt matters came to a head when these two planned the demand for the Duke of Cambridge's writ without putting the question before George. There was in this, it must be confessed, justification for George's anger, but the death of Electress Sophia removed



From a portrait by G. Kneller in the National Gallery

CAROLINE, PRINCESS OF WALES

one cause of discord, and thereafter for a while they were less antagonistic, although, as the following letter shows, the Elector did not trust his heir. "I do not think that the Electoral Prince will get his father to consent to his entering the Council of State, though he desires it ardently," Schulenburg wrote to Leibnitz, on July 12, 1714. "I confess that the father treats his son too harshly, in not choosing to gratify him in the slightest of his wishes, particularly in regard to a regiment, and a few thousand crowns a year in addition to his income; but, on the other hand, the son demeans himself in a way that his father has just reason to complain of. He says, among other things, that he dare not put him into the Council of War, knowing of a certainty that he blabs everything to the women. Just now they are on good terms, as I noted to you before, so that it really depends only upon the Prince to make matters take another course."¹

The Prince accompanied George to England, and was at once regarded as a possible tool by the Opposition: the coldness between father and son was forthwith increased by the artful proposal of the Tories in voting the Civil List, that a separate revenue of £100,000 a year should be settled on the Prince of Wales, and the quarrel

¹ Kemble: *State Papers*, p. 512.

was carefully fostered by Bernstorff and the other German ministers.

When George decided to go to Hanover in 1716, the question arose of the government of Great Britain during his absence, and it was said that the eagerness of the Prince to secure the office and title of Regent further disgusted his father, who was unwilling to assent to such an arrangement, unless he could join others with him in the administration and limit his authority by the most rigorous restrictions. Bernstorff presented the King's views to the Council, but after the matter had been discussed, Townshend replied in a letter, that "on a careful perusal of precedents, finding no instance of persons being joined in commission with the Prince of Wales, and few, if any, restrictions, they were of opinion that the constant tenour of ancient practice could not conveniently be receded from." Compelled to give way, George appointed his son not Regent, but "Guardian of the Kingdom and His Majesty's lieutenant during his absence beyond seas," a title that had been in abeyance since it had been bestowed upon Edward, the Black Prince ; and, before his departure on July 9, he removed the Duke of Argyll from the Prince's Household and the command of the Army in Scotland, to the indignation of his Royal

Highness, with whom the Duke was a great favourite.¹

The Prince had already had an angry discussion with his father about the Duke, whom the King persisted in believing gave his son bad advice. "*La première lettre que je reçois de votre part, mon Fils, est sur des sujets aussi peu dignes de vous que de moy,*" his Majesty wrote to his son on July 3, "*A l'égard du Duc d'Argyll, j'ay eu de bonnes raisons pour faire ce que j'ay fait sur son sujet, mais je ne sçay ce qui vous est moins désavantageux, d'avoir été induit pas luy ou d'autres à faire le pas que vous venez de faire, ou bien, de l'avoir fait pas votre propre mouvement. Vous aurez de la peine à redresser cette démarche dans le public. Quand on en fait de pareilles l'on n'est pas en droits d'accuser mes Ministres de me faire des rapports désavantageux, et c'est le monde renversé quand le Fils veut prescrire au Père quel pouvoir il doit luy donner; ce n'est pas plus un motif de mettre le destin de mes Ministres et autres serviteurs à la merci de votre modération. Il ne paraît pas aussi, à la conduite que vous avez tenue pendant les séances du Parlement, que vous avez si peu de friandise, comme vous le dites, pour le Gouvernement, vous mêlant de choses qui ne vous regardoient pas, et ne vous empêchoient pas de*

¹ Coxe : *Sir Robert Walpole*, Vol. I, p. 143.

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pouvoir être tranquille. Je voudrais sçavoir quel droit vous aviez de faire des messages à la Chambre contre mon intention. Est-ce à vous de faire des clauses aux dons que je fais au public ? Vous dites à cette occasion que vous avez voulu soutenir l'autorité royale, mais qui vous en a donné le soin ? Vous conviendrez que quand on n'est pas responsable ni chargé d'une chose on ne doit pas s'en mêler. Il s'agit présentement du Duc d'Argyll, lequel, malgré ce que j'ay été obligé de faire à son sujet, vous voulez soutenir et garder à votre service, en montrant pas là à tout le monde que vous vous opposez à mes sentimens. En même temps vous assujettissey à votre caprice le retardement du voyage que j'ai le dessein de faire. Je demande que vous mettiez fin à tout cela et que vous satisfassiez aux propositions que M. de Bernstorff vous a faites de ma Part. Vous empêcherez de cette manière des démarches que je seray indispensablement et contre ma volonté nécessité de faire pour soutenir mon autorité. Voila ce que j'ay à vous dire en réponse à votre lettre. Je souhaite que vous en profitiez, et que vous vous mettiez en état de mériter mon amitié.

"GEORGE R."¹

Not content with the slights, already enumerated, that he had put upon his son, on the eve

¹ Lady Cowper : *Diary*, p. 191.

of his departure, George sent a letter to the Prince in which he defined and rigorously limited his powers—

" July 5, 1716.

" My Dearest Son,

"Having determined to visit shortly my German States, I cannot give you a more convincing proof of my paternal affection and the care I take of my people, than in establishing you as sole Regent of the kingdom during my absence, being fully persuaded that your duty towards me, your affection towards the nation, and your concern for the present and future interest of your family, will engage you in the strongest manner to acquit yourself in this important employment to your honour, which is inseparable from the happiness and advantage of my people.

"And as I am persuaded that the principles of filial duty and of your affection for me will move you to act in all respects conformably to my sentiments, and to communicate to me exactly all affairs of importance; I thought for this reason, that it would be more convenient to you to receive from me in writing the essential part of my instructions on different affairs which may occur during the course of your administration; and which are of such a nature as to

allow you to apprise me of them, and wait for my orders.

“ You will then leave to my immediate direction all the negotiations already begun, or which it will be necessary to begin hereafter, with foreign powers as well as the conclusion of all treaties, and the disposition of the archbishoprics and bishoprics in England and Ireland, and the deaneries of Westminster and Windsor. You will place no one without my express direction in the Cabinet or Privy Council, and you will not displace those who are there, nor deprive them of any of their respective offices of which I have left them in possession. You will not place or displace any one in my Household, in the Treasury, nor in the Admiralty. You will not dispose of any of the places which are held ‘*Quam diu se bene gesserint*,’ or for life ; and during my absence you will grant no reversion, nor make any donation of the revenue in lands or inheritance of the Crown as well in Great Britain as in Ireland. You will not dispose of the orders of the Garter or St. Andrew ; and you will not create any new peer of Great Britain or Ireland. You will not dispose of any government as well in the kingdom as in any of the plantations abroad, without my express consent, nor of any commission of lieutenant or superior

rank in my Horse-Guards, of major or above in my foot-guards, nor of colonel or above in the Army. In the same manner I reserve to myself the power of cashiering and reforming the body of the Army which is now on foot.

"However, you may be assured, that in the disposition of all the charges, I shall have all imaginable regard for your recommendation and for the information and lights with which you may furnish me. And although I think proper to reserve to myself the nomination of all the governors of places, and superior officers of the Army, I give you nevertheless a full power of suspension, on complaints of misconduct of any officer of my guards, or of the Army whomsoever, as well as of the governors of towns, places, and fortresses in Great Britain, Ireland, and the plantations, and of substituting commandants in their place till I have made known my will.

"I think proper in like manner to reserve to myself all pardons in cases of High Treason, leaving to you the power of pardoning in all other cases, and of granting respites, even in cases of High Treason.

"If it should be necessary for the Parliament to assemble during my absence, and the usual mode of passing bills allows time to ask my opinion and consent, it is my intention that you should

not pass any public act without my approbation and express consent.

"It is also my intention that no payment shall be ordered for secret service, bounty-money or other things of that nature, beyond the sum of twenty thousand pounds sterling a year (without however comprising what I have already ordered myself in these respects), as also that no augmentation should be made in the pensions in any of the offices beyond the present expense, without my express order.

"I am perfectly persuaded that I might without the least risk confide to you the full and entire exercise of the powers above specified and reserved, but as I shall always be at hand, my opinion is that it would strengthen your administration to have my direction in affairs of such great importance, not doubting that you will acquiesce with pleasure in what I have determined, and the more because the powers which I reserve to myself, relate only to affairs which will not suffer by the short delay which will be necessary to receive my sentiments, besides that the greater part of these powers are acts so immediate of the exercise of the sovereign authority, that they could not be delegated without degrading, in some respect, the dignity of the Crown.

"To this may be added a consideration which appears to me of great weight. It is that what I establish at present will be an example, from which a consequence will be drawn on the frequent occasions which will present themselves for the princes of our family to go and visit their states in Germany; so that if I had given to the powers I leave you all the extent which the confidence I have in you would permit, there might result from them in future cases great inconveniences to our posterity, and dangerous consequences for the Crown of these kingdoms.

"Done at St. James's, 5th July, 1716.

"To my dearest Son, the Prince of Wales."¹

While George was unpopular in England, his son, perhaps for that very reason, was a favourite with the people, who, after the King's departure, attributed to the conduct of his representative the improvement in the affairs in the nation, such as the tranquillity that followed upon the insurrection of '15, with which he had, however, nothing to do, since it was the natural

¹ The original of this letter, which was written in French, is in the handwriting of Poynitz. The translation given here is taken from Coxe: *Life of Sir Robert Walpole*, Vol. I, pp. 281-284.

consequence of events. Reports were sent to Hanover by the Opposition calculated to anger the King : they spoke of the Prince's affability to persons of all parties, of his knowledge of English, of his progresses in several counties, and particularly stress was laid on the favour shown by him to the Duke of Argyll.

"And now I have mentioned the Prince," Walpole wrote to Stanhope, who had accompanied the King to Hanover, "it is fit you should know how it stands with him, which is in appearance much better than it was, and instead of pretty extraordinary treatment, we meet civil receptions. He seems very intent upon holding the Parliament, very inquisitive about the revenue, calls daily for papers, which may tend to very particular informations ; and I am not sure, they are not more for other people's perusal than his own. By some things that daily drop from him, he seems to be preparing to keep up an interest of his in Parliament independent of the King's ; but if that part is to be acted, I hope it is not impossible to bring him into other and better measures, but for this I do not pretend to answer. As for our behaviour to his Highness we take care not to be wanting in duty and respect, not to give any offence or handle to such as are ready to

take any opportunity to render business impracticable, and we hope we demean ourselves so, that neither they who would misrepresent us to the King for making our court too much to the Prince, nor they who would hurt us with the Prince for doing it too little, can have any fair advantage over us, but this is a game not to be managed without difficulty.”¹

George was furious when he heard that his son showed too much fondness for acting the King, and he vowed that never again should the Prince represent him in England, and henceforth on such occasions he named a Council of Regency composed of the Great Officers of State, a resolution to which he steadfastly adhered. George, most unjustly, was indignant with his ministers for the course of affairs during his absence, and he removed Townshend from his office, reluctantly offering him instead the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland, which Townshend at first declined, but after the return of the King at the end of January (1717) was eventually induced to accept. “Sure it is,” Horace Walpole has noted, “that on the King’s return great divisions arose in the Court, and the Whigs divided, some devoting themselves to the wearer of the

¹ Coxe: *Sir Robert Walpole*, Vol. I, p. 287.

crown, and others to the expectant."¹ Townshend and Walpole declared for the Prince, Sunderland and Stanhope for the King. So bitter was the quarrel that, according to Horace Walpole, on the death of George I, Queen Caroline found in his cabinet a paper in the handwriting of Charles Stanhope (elder brother of the first Earl of Harrington) containing a proposal of Lord Berkeley to seize her husband and convey him to America, "whence he would never be heard of more."²

The feud was now to break out and flame in the full view of all Europe. In 1717 the Princess of Wales was delivered of a second son, George William, Duke of Gloucester. The King was to be one godfather, and the Prince intended his uncle, the Duke of York, to be the other; but on the day George insisted that the Duke of Newcastle should stand, not as proxy of the Duke of York, but as a sponsor himself. The christening took place as usual in the Princess's bedchamber, and no sooner was the ceremony concluded than the Prince crossed over to the Duke of Newcastle, and, with a threatening

¹ *Reminiscences of the Courts of George I and George II*, p. cxiv.

² *Ibid.*, p. cxvi.

James, third Earl of Berkeley (1680-1736), First Lord of the Admiralty, 1717-1727.

gesture, said, "You are a rascal, but I shall find you." The King thought the words were, "You rascal, I shall fight you," and, provoked by this outrage in his presence, and believing they were a prelude to a duel, put his son under arrest. Later he sent the Dukes of Roxborough, Kent, and Kingston to enquire what were the words used, and the Prince repeated them, adding that he meant, "I shall find a way to be revenged": thereupon he was released, but at the same time was ordered to leave St. James's Palace. Although, on account of her condition, the Princess was permitted to remain, she insisted on departing with her husband, and retiring with him, for the time being, to the house of her Chamberlain, the Earl of Grantham, in Albemarle Street.¹ Shortly after the Prince and Princess took up their residence at Leicester House. The King retained in his custody his elder grandchildren, and their parents were debarred from seeing them—an action entirely indefensible, except in law.²

¹ Horace Walpole: *Reminiscences of the Court of George I and George II*, p. cxvi; Coxe: *Sir Robert Walpole*, Vol. II, p. 12; etc.

² "In 1718 the judges by a majority of ten to two advised that the care and education of the King's grandchildren, being minors, belonged to the King, the rights of the father being to this extent superseded."—Anson: *Law and Custom* (second edition), Vol. II, p. 84.

The incident was at once seized upon by a witty ballad-monger, and his verses had at the time a great vogue.

"THE CHRISTENING:

"AN EXCELLENT NEW BALLAD.

"*(To the tune of 'Cherry Chass.')*

"God prosper long our noble King,
His Turks and Germans all;
A woful Christ'ning late there did
In James' House befall.

"To name a child, with might and main,
Newcastle took his way;
We all may rue the child was born,
Who christened was that day.

"His sturdy sire, the Prince of Wales,
A vow to God did make,
That if he dared his child to name
His heart full sure should ake.

"But on a day, straight to the Court,
This duke came with a staff—
Oh! how the Prince did stamp and stare!
At which this duke did laugh.

"Hereat the Prince did wax full wroth,
E'en in his Father's hall:
'I'll be reveng'd on thee, (he cry'd)
Thou rogue and eke rascal!'

"The duke ran straightway to the King,
Complaining of his son;
And then the King sent three dukes more
To know what he had done.

“ ‘ Then,’ quoth the Prince, ‘ he is a rogue
Against my will to stand ’ ;
Then Roxbro’ said, ‘ Great Sir, indeed,
He did it by command.’

“ ‘ By G—! thou liest, I know thy heart,
And thy presumption, too ’ ;
And then he added words of wrath,
So to the King they flew.

“ ‘ We saw the Prince,’ quoth Roxbro’—‘ *Bon.*’
‘ T’appease him we’re not able ;
He gave me, Sire, the lie,’—‘ *Comment ?* ’
‘ And bid us kiss’—‘ *Diable !* ’

“ The King then took his gray-goose quill,
And dipt it o’er in gall,
And, by Master Vice-Chamberlain,
He sent to him this scrawl—

“ ‘ Take hence yourself, and eke your spouse,
Your maidens and your men ;
Your trunks and all your trumpery,—
Except your chil-de-ren.’

“ Then up the street they took their way,
And knockt up good Lord Grant-ham
Higgledy-piggledy they lay,
And all went *rantam scantam*.

“ Now Sire and Son had p’layd their part,
What could befall beside ?
Why the poor babe took this to heart,
Kickt up its heels and died.¹

¹ The infant, which was born on November 2, 1717, died on February 6, 1718. The Duke of Newcastle, who was Lord Chamberlain, had to superintend the funeral ; so that the Court wits said of him, that he had not only introduced the baby Prince into the bosom, but also the bowels, of the Church.

"God grant the land may profit reap
From all this silly pother,
And send these fools may ne'er agree,
Till they are at Hanover."

Hereafter George pursued his son with all the malice conceivable. He notified foreign courts of the disgrace of the Prince and Princess, announced that those who visited at Leicester House would not be received at St. James's, and gave orders that they should not be allowed a guard and should be deprived of every mark of distinction. He sent word to Lord Grantham that if the latter lent or sold the Duke of Ormonde's house at Richmond to the Prince, he would seize it, as being forfeited to the Crown, and he further forbade the players letting his son come to the playhouse. "You see how near a happy reconciliation is," commented Edward Harley, who related these things.¹ Not content with these measures, the King endeavoured to obtain an Act of Parliament to compel his son to resign his claim to the Electorate of Hanover on succeeding to the English throne, and he was only induced to abstain from this measure when Lord Chancellor Macclesfield pronounced the measure not only unwise, but as liable to be followed by dangerous consequences to the reigning

¹ Edward Harley to Abigail Harley, April 13, 1718 (*Portland MSS.*, Vol. V, p. 559).

sovereign.¹ George, indeed, carried his rancour so far as to compel Lord Cowper to deliver up the Great Seal, because he had opposed a bill by which the Prince's income would have been entirely dependent upon his father's will. Foiled in his hope to deprive his son of Hanover, he accepted Sunderland's suggestion of a Peerage Bill, by which he would cripple his successor's power by lessening the royal prerogative.² He went so far as to send a message to the House of Commons, saying that "He had much at heart the settling the peerage of the whole kingdom on such a foundation as might secure the freedom and constitution of Parliament in all future ages, and he was willing his prerogative should not stand in the way of so great and necessary a

¹ Hervey: *Memoirs*, Vol. III, pp. 216, 219; Coxe: *Walpole*, Vol. II, pp. 1-13.

² "On the 3rd of March, the Lords, in a Committee of the whole House, discussed eleven resolutions, which were proposed as the groundwork of the future [Peerage] bill. By these it was provided, that the English Peers should not be increased beyond six of their present number, with an exception in favour of Princes of the blood; that for every extinction there might be a new creation; that no peerages should hereafter be granted for any longer tenure than to the grantee, and the heirs male of his body; that instead of the sixteen elective Peers from Scotland, the King should name twenty-five as hereditary from that part of the kingdom; and that this number, on the failure of heirs male, should be supplied from the remaining Scotch Peers."—Mahon: *History of England from the Peace of Utrecht*, Vol. I, p. 532-533.

work."¹ But again he was doomed to disappointment, for, though the Lords willingly gave their assent to an act that so greatly enhanced their importance, the Commons followed the lead of Walpole, and unhesitatingly rejected it.

"I hear that King George has arrived in England. The poor Prince of Wales, thinking to please his father, sent a page with his compliments and congratulations on his safe return, but the King refused to even hear the message, sending back the young page with bitter and scornful words, and he has also withdrawn the permission he had accorded to the Prince to occasionally see his little girl. This seems to me cruel and unfair conduct." So wrote George's candid critic, the Duchess of Orleans, on December 14, 1719; and this time there was good ground for her indignation. But the King's conduct, besides being unworthy, was also foolish, for in the end, having refused this advance from his son, he was himself compelled to make overtures, through Walpole, who was heart and soul with the Princess. "Mr. Walpole," that royal lady had said to him, "this will be no jesting matter to me; you will hear of me and my complaints every day and hour, and in every place, if I have not my children again."²

¹ *Journals of the House of Commons.*

² Lady Cowper: *Diary*, p. 132.

The matter had become a public scandal, and Walpole was determined, that so far as it might be in his power, a reconciliation should be effected, and, though the King cried, "Can't the Whigs come back without him?" he at last was forced to give way. Walpole, on April 10, 1720, told Lord Cowper that, through Craggs,¹ he had received overtures from the King that no terms were to be inserted on either side, but the Princess was to have her children again, that the Prince was to write to the King and that he should return to live again at St. James's.² The Prince and Princess, however, refused to live in the Palace, and as the King did not wish to have them, this point was yielded. On April 23, Lord Lumley³ went to the King with the Prince's letter, and Craggs returned with him to Leicester House to deliver a message from his Majesty. The Prince then went to St. James's to see his father, and on entering his presence, "made him a short compliment, saying it had been a great grief to him to have been in his displeasure so long; that he was infinitely obliged to his Majesty for this permission of waiting upon him, and that he hoped the

¹ James Craggs, the Elder (1657-1721).

² Lady Cowper: *Diary*, p. 128.

³ Eldest son of the first Earl of Scarborough, Lord of the Bedchamber and Master of the Horse to the Prince of Wales.

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rest of his life would be such as the King would have no cause to complain of." ¹ The King could only exclaim, "*Votre conduite, votre conduite !*"

This peace-making was brought about without the knowledge of any of the Hanoverians, except the Duchess of Kendal, and was a great blow to them, indeed it marked their downfall from power. The public generally was delighted and expressed its approval in cheering the King, the Prince and Princess, and Walpole, whenever these appeared in the streets. But there was really no cause for rejoicing, for the reconciliation was hollow. On the day following it, again Lady Cowper is the chronicler, "The King went to church . . . the Prince was by that coming upstairs when the King went in. He followed,

¹ Lady Cowper: *Diary*, p. 142.

Lord Sunderland, Lord Stanhope, and Craggs persuaded the King "at leastwise to appear reconciled to the Prince, upon which, after a consultation with Walpole, Townshend, and Devonshire, Mr. Craggs went to invite the Prince to Court. This was managed with such secrecy that the Germans knew not one word of it thirty minutes before the Prince went, and were not a little confounded at it. The French Resident had been apprised of all from the beginning, and sent it to the Regent before the Court had it. When the King saw the Prince, upon his knees, he spoke not one word to him, good, bad, or indifferent, but made a sign for him to rise with his hand, nor did the Prince stay in his presence above two minutes, nor did the Prince speak one word to the Duke of Newcastle, though he stood in his way on purpose."—Edward Harley to the Earl of Oxford (*Portland MSS.*, Vol. V, p. 596).

but they spoke not to one another, nor looked at one another all the time, which caused many speculations. When the King came out, the Prince stood by him. The King spoke to most people, except the Prince, and they two only looked grave and out of humour."¹ A reunion that began like this was the merest pretence, and it is, therefore, not surprising to read that at a Court held in 1725 the King, though he greeted the Princess graciously, did not speak to the Prince, and ostentatiously avoided going near him.²

George's last act of malice against the Prince was to destroy the will of Sophia Dorothea, who had left property to her children, but this did not anger the Prince so much as the King's order that mourning should not be worn for his erstwhile consort either in London or at the Electoral Court, and his sentiments were supposed to be portrayed in the following lines—

"A mother dead, and am I from the throne
Commanded not to show myself her son?
Well! since the decent sable I'm denied
For her, my parent on the surer side,
Remember, George, 'twill be my turn some day,
This, and all former favours to repay;
And when that long-expected time I see,
Let Kendal, at her peril, mourn for thee!"

¹ Lady Cowper: *Diary*, pp. 147-148.

² De Saussure: *A Foreign View of the Courts of George I and George II*, p. 44.

CHAPTER XXI

THE THRONE IN DANGER. I—THE REBELLION OF '15

THE King soon made it very clear that, while he had no prejudice against the Tories as a body, he would show no favour to those leaders of that party who were suspected of intriguing against him ; but how far he was personally responsible for what almost immediately ensued cannot be estimated, for his ministers may have induced him to go further than, left to himself, he would have gone. The Whigs found themselves in a great majority in the new Parliament that assembled in March 1715, and the spirit that animated this assembly at once was made manifest. In the Lords the Address to the King contained the statement that every effort would be made "to recover the reputation of this Kingdom," and although Bolingbroke moved an amendment that "maintain" should be substituted for "recover," he was badly beaten when the House divided. The attitude of the Commons was still more uncompromising, and in the Address moved by Walpole, there was this significant passage : "It is with just resentment we observe that the

Pretender still resides in Lorraine, and that he has the presumption, by declaration from thence, to stir up your Majesty's subjects to rebellion. But that which raises the utmost indignation of your Commons is, that it appears therein that his hopes were built upon the measures that had been taken for some time past in Great Britain. It shall be our business to trace out those measures whereon he placed his hopes, and to bring the authors of them to condign punishment."

The tone of the Addresses foreshadowed the impeachment of the members of the last Ministry of the preceding reign, but as a preliminary measure a Secret Committee was appointed to enquire into their practices, and as the consequence of its report, presented on June 9, an indictment was framed against Bolingbroke, Oxford, and, a few days later, Ormonde. Bolingbroke had not awaited this step: after the appointment of the Secret Committee he had shown himself in public for a few days, appeared at a theatre on the evening of March 26 and bespoke a performance for the following evening, at which, however, he did not appear, being then secretly *en route* for France. His flight was cowardly, for, while he saved himself from any consequences of the action of Parliament, he undoubtedly by this act seriously compromised those who had laboured with him for the

restoration of the House of Stuart. Oxford, who disdained to seek refuge in flight, was brought to the bar of the House of Lords, charged with corruption in connection with the Peace of Utrecht and the creation of twelve peers in December 1711, and was committed to the Tower in spite of his defence : " My Lords, if Ministers of State, acting by the direct command of their Sovereign, are afterwards to be made accountable for their proceedings, it may, one day or other, be the case of all the members of this august assembly "—a really plausible defence, for at that time the responsibility of the minister had not been so clearly defined, and the Sovereign could still command and expect obedience.

There had been a desire on the part of the Ministry not to proceed against Ormonde—perhaps because he was popular, so popular indeed that he was made the hero of one of those ballads sung to inflame the populace against the House of Hanover and its adherents—

" I am Ormonde the Brave, did you ever hear of me,
A man lately forced from his own country,
They sought for my life, and they plundered my estate,
All for being so loyal to Queen Anne the great."

And sing, Hey, ho, ho,
I am Ormonde, you know,
I am Ormonde, you know,
They call me Jemmy Butler,
I am Ormonde, you know.

" Betwixt Ormonde and Marlborough arose a great dispute,
Says Ormonde to Marlborough, ' I was born a Duke,
And you but a footboy to wait upon a lady ;
You may thank your kind fortune and the way that have
made ye.'

And sing, Hey, ho, ho, etc.

" ' I never was a traitor, like you, thou false knave,
Nor ever cursed Queen Anne when she lay in her grave ;
But I was Queen Anne's darling, and my country's delight,
And so for the Crown of England so boldly I did fight.'

And sing, Hey, ho, ho, etc.

" ' Begone then,' says Ormonde, ' you cowardly creature,
To rob my poor soldiers, it was never my nature,
Which you have done before, as we well understand ;
You have filled your own purse, and impoverished the
land.'

And sing, Hey, ho, ho, etc.

" Says Marlborough to Ormonde, ' Now do not say so,
Or from the Court I will force you to go.'
Says Ormonde to Marlborough, ' Now do not be so cruel,
But draw forth your sword, and we'll end it in a duel.'

And sing, Hey, ho, ho, etc.

" Says Marlborough to Ormonde, ' I'll go and ask my lady,
And if she is willing, to fight you I'm ready !'
But Marlborough went away, and he came no more there,
So this noble Duke of Ormonde threw his sword in the air.

And sing, Hey, ho, ho," etc.¹

Whether the reason was Ormonde's popularity,
or whether it was the hope to divert the influence

¹ " I am told that a few years ago this song was commonly
sung at the harvest-homes in the Isle of Wight."—Wright :
Caricature History of the Georges (second edition, p. 19).

of the Duke to the King's interest, certainly the Ministry for some time held its hand, and on June 14 Cardonnel wrote to Marlborough enquiring "whether some means might not be found to bring over the Duke of Ormonde to a sense of his error, and the owning of his having been misled. . . . It is not improbable the Ministry would choose to let him drop rather than bring on a prosecution against him." Ormonde, however, defiantly held a sort of court at his house at Richmond, which became a general meeting-place of the Jacobites, and as he persisted in this course, and could not be induced to make overtures of peace to George, who was willing to receive him, Stanhope on June 21 moved his impeachment, and, although several Whigs spoke in his favour, the motion was carried, though only by a majority of forty-nine. Even now his friends urged him to seek an interview with the King, with whom a reconciliation might still be effected, but he would neither follow these advisers, nor those who besought him to raise the standard of revolt in the West ; he preferred, on August 8, to follow Bolingbroke to France, after having in vain endeavoured to persuade Oxford to fly with him. "Farewell, Oxford without a head !" is said to have been his parting greeting, to which the other replied aptly, "Farewell, Duke without a duchy !"

THE CHEVALIER DE ST. GEORGE 73

At this time the Chevalier de St. George, as it is more courteous to call the Pretender, was preparing to invade England in support of his right to the throne. It was clear even to those whose enthusiasm was so great as to enable them to overlook all minor obstacles, that success was only possible if there were risings simultaneously in England and Scotland, if the Chevalier in person led his army in the field, and if France assisted the cause with men, money, arms, and ammunition. This should have convinced James that the English people were not crying aloud for his restoration : Bolingbroke at heart was convinced, and he sent from Paris on July 23 a warning : " It is evident that in Margaret's country (England) things are not ripe ; that at least you cannot tell with certainty whether they are so or not ; that the secret is divulged ; that in the present method, the correspondence wants that preciseness and exactness which is indispensably necessary ; and, lastly, that Harry (King of France) has not yet spoken clearly, whether he will not, in some manner or other, give a private assistance now, and perhaps a public one hereafter."

Bolingbroke was working to induce the King of France to identify himself with the cause, but Louis XIV pointed out that his kingdom was exhausted and impoverished after the long war,

and that it was essential that he should not embark in another conflict, which assuredly would be the result of his public support of the Chevalier ; but he undertook secretly, to provide supplies, and he asked the King of Spain to lend 400,000 crowns on his personal security. " Harry (King of France) has writ to his grandson (King of Spain) with his own hand, to press him to supply your Majesty with that money which he would furnish himself, was he able to do it ; and we hope, I think with reason, that the money may be obtained. The grandson has actually 100,000 crowns in this city, and the last advices from his country say that the rich merchant ships were daily expected. His factor here embraces the matter very heartily, and I believe we shall succeed." So Bolingbroke wrote on August 15 in a letter in which he urged the Chevalier to be patient ; though four days later he said : " Things are hastening to that point, that either you, Sir, at the head of the Tories must save the Church of England, or both must be irretrievably lost for ever."¹

¹ It was such statements as this last that provoked Addison to a sarcastic outburst in the *Freeholder* (No. 14), entitled " A Jacobite Creed," the first three items of which run :

That the Church of England will be always in danger till it has a Popish King for its defender ;

That for the safety of the Church no subject should be tolerated in any religion different from the Established, but

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The Fates, however, were fighting against the Chevalier ; and they were ably backed by the incompetence of his advisers, who had not the slightest idea how to conduct an invasion. Ormonde had reported that the feeling in England was in favour of James, indeed, he had gone so far as to declare that in his opinion nine out of every ten persons were in favour of a Stuart restoration ; but when pressed to take steps for immediate action he gave the lie to these accounts by announcing that he and his friends could not commence operations without the support of a large body of French troops, and a supply of money, arms, and ammunition. It should then have been clear to the Chevalier that if his kingdom could only be invaded with an army of England's traditional foe, his chance to recover the throne of his father was hopeless. It would not then have been a struggle between George and James, or Guelph and Stuart, but between England and France when, it cannot be doubted, many who would otherwise have supported the Chevalier would have taken the field against France.

that the head of our Church may be of that religion which is most repugnant to it ;

That the Protestant interest in this nation, and in all Europe, could not but flourish under the protection of one who thinks himself obliged, on pain of damnation, to do all that lies in his power for the extirpation of it.

While Ormonde was still supposed to be fomenting rebellion in the West of England, he suddenly appeared at Paris, a fugitive ; and within a few weeks, on September 1, died Louis XIV. The game was up ! “ Louis was the best friend the Chevalier had, and when I engaged in this business my principal reliance was on his personal character,” Bolingbroke wrote to Sir William Wyndham. “ My hopes sunk as he declined, and died when he expired.” Bolingbroke’s pessimism was justified, for the Duke of Orleans, now Regent of France, was not to be moved to accept the late King’s plans, as it was essential to his policy to remain at peace with England : besides, he was friendly with Stanhope and on the best terms with Lord Stair, the English Ambassador at Paris ; and if he did not entirely break off all negotiations, it was because, should James succeed in his enterprise, it would be an advantage for France to be on good terms with England’s sovereign.

John Erskine, eleventh Earl of Mar, had, however, already set out for Scotland, but after the death of Louis XIV Bolingbroke at once wrote to him and to the other leaders of the Jacobite party, to say that, since Scotland could not rise successfully without a simultaneous move in England, and England could do nothing without assistance from France, and France had no intention to help,

the enterprise must, anyhow for the time being, be abandoned. Unfortunately, Bolingbroke's letter to Mar arrived too late, and so there had to be carried through, what Mr. McCarthy has aptly called, "this miserable attempt at an insurrection," for the Earl had raised the standard of revolt at Braemar—in obedience, Berwick stated,¹ to an order from the Chevalier, who, without consulting him or Bolingbroke, had decided without further delay to strike a blow. "I cannot but see that affairs grow daily worse and worse by delays, and that, as the business is now more difficult than it was six months ago, so these difficulties will, in all human appearance, rather increase than diminish. Violent diseases must have violent remedies, and to use none, has, in some cases, the same effect as to use bad ones," James had written to Bolingbroke shortly before, and, presumedly, his impatience had now conquered him.

Mar was not a man of the best reputation ; he was a political Vicar of Bray, and, by his changes of side, had earned for himself the nickname of "Bobbing John." He had entered public life as a Whig, and had subsequently "ratted" ; he was to be found on the side of the Whigs again at the time of the union with Scotland, but when the Tories came into power he accepted from them the

¹ *Memoirs*, Vol. II, p. 158.

office of Secretary of State for Scotland ; though when George ascended the throne he wrote a letter protesting his loyalty, and there is no doubt he would have become a staunch Hanoverian—for a time—if that King would have continued him in his post. As, however, George showed no intention to do so, he, after his manner, became a pronounced Jacobite. It is noteworthy that when he came to this island his duplicity reached its zenith : on August 1st he was present at King George's *levée* at St. James's, on the following day he set out for the Highlands to proclaim King James.

" A rogue of a Scot pretends to declare
Against King and Country a traitorous war ;
A perjur'd false loon, and his name it is Mar,
Which nobody can deny.

" This crooked disciple pretends he will bring
A Popish Pretender, whom he calls a King,
For which both himself and his Master may swing ;
Which nobody can deny.

" By oaths he has sworn, and the sacrament took,
His hands and his lips have been laid to the book,
And then, like Judas, his Master forsook ;
Which nobody can deny."

Mar at once summoned the chiefs of the clans to a conference at Braemar, when he unfolded his plan of action. The Scotch noblemen, even before the death of Louis XIV, had not been very

sanguine of success, but they unhesitatingly obeyed the call of duty, and on September 6 the standard of the Chevalier was unfurled at Kirkmichael. Superstitious Highlanders took it as an evil omen that on this occasion the gilt ball for the top of the pole fell to the ground. Though Mar at this time had only sixty men with him, the force grew greater day by day until he soon had a little army at his command. Operations were begun without delay : five hundred men of the MacIntosh clan took possession of Inverness ; James III was proclaimed at Dundee and elsewhere ; on September 14 Perth was seized by Colonel John Hay, brother of the Earl of Kinnoul ; and in a little while all Scotland north of the Tay was in the hands of the Jacobites.

News of the rising reached Bolingbroke, who was not unduly elated by the successes obtained at this early stage ; but, although he had counselled a policy of inactivity, he could no longer, since the Stuart standard had been hoisted, raise objections to the departure of the Chevalier for Scotland. With what misgivings he assented to this course, however, is clear. " You will hear from other hands that the English fleet has visited the French coast several times ; that their cruisers are very alert in the Channel ; and that within these four days Sir George Byng is come into the

Road of Havre, and has demanded by name the ships on board of which are some arms and stores. The Regent has, indeed, not thought fit to give them up ; but he has sent down orders to unload them, and had promised that they shall not go out. After this I leave you to judge how easy it will be for the King to get off without the Regent's knowledge, and how safe for him without it," Bolingbroke wrote in bitterness of spirit to Mar on September 20. "We are taking, however, measures to find a passage for him ; and how hazardous soever the attempt may be, nothing but impossibilities will stop him. We hear that you are in arms, and you easily judge this motive sufficient to carry us to all that men can do. But we do not yet know, which is a most uncomfortable consideration, what our friends in England will resolve to do now Hanover has an army, more money, the Habeas Corpus Bill suspended, and a friend at the head of this Government who thought, before any of these cases happened, that the King's enterprise was not practicable, unless he brought a proportion of stores, arms, etc., which he is utterly unable to procure." No temporary successes, indeed, could cheer the heart of James's Secretary of State, for he was clear-sighted enough to see that the venture was almost inevitably foredoomed to failure. "Instead of having a ship

furnished by France for the King's transportation, which we had obtained, and which, I confess, I thought an article of the greatest importance . . . the whole coast from Jutland to Spain is against us ; and unless the King steals off unknown, which to me appears almost impossible, considering the extent of country he must traverse, and the vigilance which is used in every part of France, he will either be seized or betrayed," he summed up the situation. "The troops we hoped for from Sweden are refused us, and the bills which were given for their embarkation are returned. The money we expected from Spain is, in my opinion, still in the clouds, and were it actually in our hands we should be at a loss how to get it on board. Instead of having the arms which were promised us by the late King, it is become doubtful whether we shall have it in our power to carry off those which we have of our own. Instead of being sure that France would not see us run over by foreign forces, we are sure that from Holland and Germany Hanover will be at liberty to bring as many as he pleases. In a word, every resource has failed us, and every accident which we could apprehend has fallen out ; so that against the whole weight of the Government and Legislature of Great Britain, such as they are, against an army, a fleet, immense sums of money, and the most powerful foreign

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alliances, we have nothing to oppose but the good dispositions of the people of Britain ; and we are not yet certain whether the good disposition of those in England will carry them to act in these circumstances."

If Bolingbroke was despondent, the English Ministry was to the full as perturbed. Though they took all the precautions in their power, they were face to face with the very disagreeable fact that in the entire country they had not more than eight thousand troops. Even this body, too, could not be devoted *en bloc* for the purpose of opposing the insurgents, for it was necessary to garrison London and other important towns, and it was by no means clear in what part of the Kingdom the greatest danger would arise. Indeed, for some time, it was supposed that the rising in Scotland was a feint to mask preparations in the West of England, and so, to quell any possible insurrection in this direction, a great part of the military force had to be held in reserve.

The Government, however, acted promptly and with good effect. Besides suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, it ordered twenty-one regiments to be raised, demanded from Holland a body of six thousand troops, which that country was pledged to supply to support the Hanoverian succession, and arrested on September 21 Sir William

Wyndham and other persons suspected of revolutionary tendencies. These and other measures undoubtedly had much to do with the fact that when Ormonde landed on the coast of Devonshire, he found that part of the country so unprepared for rebellion, that there was nothing for him to do but return to St. Malo, where he arrived on the eve of the Chevalier's departure.

At the time of the rising in the North there were in Scotland under the command of General Witham some fifteen hundred troops, including five hundred dragoons, and this body was ordered by Stanhope, who charged himself with the supreme direction of military affairs in connection with the rebellion, to take up a position at Stirling and to endeavour to maintain the passage of the Forth. In the middle of September General Witham was superseded by the Duke of Argyll, who found his task difficult in the extreme, if not, indeed, impossible. Mar had an overwhelming superiority of forces, and before the end of October was supreme in all that part of the country north of the Forth. If now he had gone forward, he might by sheer numerical strength have driven Argyll beyond the Tweed ; and once in England, a successful commander, with an army of twelve thousand men, who shall say what might have happened ? But Mar was not what especially was required at the

moment, a dashing general : he certainly intended to go south with his entire force, but he delayed—perhaps induced thereto by the poorness of his men's equipment ; and delay, which was so greatly to the advantage of Argyll, was fatal to him, for the Highlanders were keen to fight then, but might not be so anxious later ; the gentry and noblemen who supported the cause were put to great expense, which they did not bear gladly ; and there was time for disputes between rival chieftains as to offices, etc., to foment into active quarrels. Mar had the power to arouse enthusiasm, but, having aroused it, he was at a loss to improve the occasion.

Still, the Jacobite force was not altogether inactive, for a brigade under MacIntosh crossed the Forth and marched for England—unopposed, for Mar had sufficient strategic skill to threaten Argyll with his main force, and so prevent the Royalist General, already greatly inferior in numbers, from detaching any part of his army in pursuit. MacIntosh, with fifteen hundred men, crossed the river at North Berwick, and, after an ineffectual march on Edinburgh,¹ marched to

¹ There had been a plot to capture Edinburgh Castle, and its failure is typical of the ill-success of the Jacobite arms in this campaign. The Chevalier's adherents in that city had won over three soldiers, who, at a certain place at a certain

Kelso, where he was reinforced by some cavalry under Lord Kenmure, and joined by a few English horsemen under Mr. Forster, with whom was Lord Derwentwater. Here an unexpected difficulty arose, for the Highlanders evinced a very marked disinclination to cross the border, and when MacIntosh, as a concession, led them in a westerly direction at the back of the Cheviots, when he crossed the border at Longtoun, many hundreds deserted and returned to their homes, while the

time on the night of September 9, were to let down ladders by means of which the assailants should clamber up; once within the walls it would not be difficult to overcome the small garrison. So assured was the success supposed to be that the news of the capture of Edinburgh was to be conveyed to Mar by a range of beacons that one after another would be fired from the hills outside the city to Perth. Unfortunately for the rebels, one of the Jacobites concerned told his brother, who told his wife, who in turn, without apprising her husband, sent an anonymous letter to Lord Justice Clerk informing him of the conspiracy. This letter, it chanced, did not reach its destination until ten o'clock on the eventful evening, and his messenger did not arrive at the castle until an hour later, so that if the conspirators had been punctual in bringing the ladder, the design could still have been carried out before the news of the assault was known to the defenders. The conspirators, however, it is recorded in Sinclair's MS. (p. 103), "were so far from carrying on their affairs privately, that a gentleman who was not concerned told me that he was in a house that evening when eighteen of them were drinking, and heard the hostess say they were powdering their hair to go to the attack of the Castle!" When they did arrive at the Castle two hours late the chance had gone for ever.

rest demanded increased pay. On entering England Mr. Forster took command of the forces and led them to Penrith, then to Lancaster, a stronghold of Roman Catholics, and eventually to Preston on the Ribble, where, on November 13, the Royalist armies under General Carpenter and General Wills surrounded them, and compelled them to surrender.

November 13 was a fatal day for the Chevalier's cause, for in the North, as well as at Preston, his forces met with disaster. Marching in a south-westerly direction from Perth upon Stirling, Mar encountered Argyll's army at Sheriffmuir, near Dunblane. Both sides fought well, and the Highlanders' right wing drove the Royalist west wing before it, but when Mar returned from the pursuit he found that Argyll's cavalry had broken up his left wing : thus might the battle be declared drawn, but Mar unaccountably decided to retreat, and so left Argyll in possession of the field.

Soon an impetus was given to the Jacobites by the arrival of the Chevalier, who, with half-a-dozen companions, disguised as French naval officers, had contrived, in spite of surveillance, to cross the Channel. He landed at Peterhead, in Aberdeenshire, on December 22, and at once notified Bolingbroke : " I am at last, thank God, in my

own ancient Kingdom," but he did little beyond issue proclamations under the style of James, King of Great Britain and Ireland. The English Government thought that his appearance must indicate that, in spite of all protestations, France intended to take a hand in the game ; and it regarded it therefore as imperative, before any such assistance could arrive, to disperse the rebels. Argyll was at once ordered to march upon Perth, and as soon as that town was threatened, on January 30, 1716, the Jacobite army withdrew across the frozen Tay northwards to Montrose, where the Chevalier, accompanied by Mar, deserted his followers, and fled to France, arriving on February 8, less than six weeks after his departure. Argyll came up with the rebels at Aberdeen on February 8, and utterly defeated them. The insurrection was at an end.

The action of the Chevalier has been discussed from all points of view, and not even the Jacobites have ventured to defend his flight, though doubtless he acted only in accordance with the advice of his Generals. But, indeed, his presence in Scotland, after the first enthusiasm died away, had done little service to his cause. Doubtless he was hampered by his advisers, and his lack of acquaintance with military operations, and these things conduced to a state of inaction. He was

brave enough, doubtless, but not possessed of qualities to lead, with any chance of success, a forlorn hope ; he did not inspire confidence ; he was, if all accounts are true, a very death's head at a feast, and depressed instead of stimulating his Highland forces.

"I must not conceal," wrote one of his supporters in *A Rebel's True Account of the Proceedings at Perth*, "that, when we saw the man whom they call our King, we found ourselves not at all animated by his presence ; and if he was disappointed in us, we were tenfold more so in him. We saw nothing in him that looked like spirit. He never attempted with cheerfulness and vigour to animate us. Our men began to despise him ; some asked if he could speak. His countenance looked extremely heavy. He cared not to come abroad amongst us soldiers, or to see us handle our arms or do our exercise. Some said the circumstances he found us in dejected him ; I am sure the figure he made dejected us ; and had he sent us but 5,000 men of good troops, and never himself come amongst us, we had done other things than we have now."

The Chevalier, for his part, contended that the state of affairs had been misrepresented to him, that the Tories had not risen in his favour, and that nowhere had he been loyally supported.

Bitter, indeed, were his charges, which elated the Whigs, who, in great good temper, replied by stating the Tories' answer to the indictment—

"Great Sir! we Tories were amazed,
Your heavy charge to hear;
Who are the cowards, you or we,
These lines will make appear.

"We own'd you for King James's son,
And pray'd you to come over,
Tell us what mighty things you've done
Your kingdoms to recover?

"When you embark'd, the roaring waves
Fill'd your faint heart with fear,
Your courage—if you any had—
Was left behind you there.

"When you into the harbour got,
And safely was unshipt,
You trembled like a naughty child
Just going to be whipt.

"Ah! did the piercing northern cold
The shaking ague bring?
O no! it was a timorous heart
That lodg'd within our King.

"You came and view'd your Highland clans,
And rode from front to rear;
You lik'd them not, nor they lik'd you,
Your looks betray'd your fear.

"Argyll drew nigh, with furious speed,
The fate of war to try;
Three Kingdoms could not make you stay,
But you as fast did fly.

" I shall be caught or kill'd (you cried),
When murd'ring bullets fly ;
Or thund'ring noise will make me deaf,
Or smoke inflame my eye.

" Your valiant clans then wisely thought,
Since you were fled and gone,
They would not be such fools to fight ;
And thus you were undone.

" But they with sword and targets arm'd
Could make your foes to bleed,
And drive them back (had you but staid)
Into the river Tweed.

" Had you but boldly marcht to us,
In Britain's southern parts,
Great numbers would have joined you,
With courage in their hearts.

" Your name in histories will be
Reverse to Caesar's fame ;
You came and saw—then ran away
Much faster than you came."

CHAPTER XXII

THE THRONE IN DANGER. II—THE SOUTH SEA BUBBLE

NOT even at the time of his succession was George so violently abused nor, perhaps, was his throne in such danger at any period of the rebellion of '15, as when the South Sea Bubble burst—though, as a matter of fact, he was no more concerned, either directly or indirectly, with the affairs of that company than with the financial enterprises of John Law in France: he was not in the least responsible for the formation of the South Sea Company, nor, of course, with the subsequent speculation in its shares.

It is scarcely necessary to dwell upon the facts that at the beginning of the eighteenth century national finance was in its infancy, that banking, as it is understood to-day, dates only from the establishment of Hoare's in 1680, and that the charter of the Bank of England was granted only fourteen years later. Statesmen, seemingly unaware of the resources of the country and of its vast wealth, were chary of increasing

the National Debt, but, in spite of their qualms, the cost of the long wars made it incumbent upon them to borrow, and so it came to pass that the Debt, which in 1689 was the mere trifle of £664,263, amounted in 1702 to sixteen millions, and at the accession of George I had increased to more than three times that sum—which, in those days, was regarded as terrifying. “I quite agree with Ministers,” said Mr. Brodrick in the House of Commons in 1720, “that till the National Debt is discharged, or at least in a fair way of being so, we are not to expect to make the figure we formerly had! Nay further, I say, till this is done, we cannot, properly speaking, call ourselves a nation!”

So early as 1711 Harley had taken the matter into serious consideration, and had devoted his energies to devising measures to improve the credit of the country. He was particularly worried by the existence of the floating debt of ten millions, for this was redeemable at any time on demand of the holders of the script, and so constituted a great and ever present danger to the public credit, since, had there been a run on the Government, it would have been difficult if not impossible, to discharge this vast liability on the spot. Harley's object was to convert this floating debt, and at last he hit upon the happy plan to form a company of these creditors of the

country, arranging that the ten millions should be funded (*i.e.*, the interest and not the capital should be paid), and the interest secured upon the duties on wine, vinegar, tobacco, etc. But, of course, no man in his senses would consent to make this exchange unless there was an inducement that more than overbalanced the disadvantage of accepting the new class of loan for the old, and so Harley held out the attractive bait of the monopoly of trade to the Spanish coasts in America when, thus enticed, the majority of creditors accepted shares in this South Sea Company, and surrendered their script. This transaction of Harley was regarded as a masterpiece of finance. It was unfortunate for the new company, however, that the treaty of Utrecht was not so advantageous to it as it had anticipated, for Spain not only refused to allow free trade with its American colonies, but granted only, besides the *Assiento* for negro slaves, permission to establish some factories and to send one ship of less than five hundred tons, a portion of the profits of which vessel was to be paid to the King of Spain. The first ship of the company sailed in 1717, and in the following year war broke out between the countries, so that even this concession was almost valueless ; but nevertheless the corporation, with its great capital, found many channels of trade, and its

wealth and influence became so considerable that it was regarded as the rival of the Bank of England.

The next important step in putting the National Debt upon a sounder basis was made by Walpole in 1717. The various loans had been raised in times of war when money was dear, and it had consequently been necessary to attract lenders by favourable terms. Now the succession was established, Government loans were regarded as the safest investment, and the wealth of the country was increasing by leaps and bounds, the curious spectacle was presented of the Government paying seven and eight per cent. interest, while private citizens with good security, could borrow at four per cent. Yet, though money was so much cheaper, it was, however, no easy task to reduce the interest of the Government loans, for a great amount of the debt was in the form of annuities for ninety-nine years, and another part was in the form of irredeemable stock. Walpole did his best. He borrowed £600,000 at four per cent. from the Bank of England, and with this purchased stock bearing a higher interest, and applied the money thus saved to reducing the debt; he obtained the sanction of the Bank of England and the South Sea Company to reduce the interest on the money advanced by them to the Government, and he borrowed from these corporations

a further sum of five millions to purchase redeemable stock from those holders who would not accept a lower rate of interest.

Though Walpole soon after retired from the direction of the Treasury, his scheme was forwarded by his successor, who desired to reduce the country's liabilities by consolidating all the funds into one. Well aware of this, Sir John Blunt, a director of the South Sea Company, on behalf of that corporation approached Stanhope with a scheme for such an object, and the matter was discussed with Sunderland, First Lord of the Treasury, and Aislalie, Chancellor of the Exchequer. Finance, however, was in those days little understood by statesmen, and, as a matter of fact neither Sunderland nor even Aislalie knew much more about this department of Government than Stanhope, so that they were at the mercy of any plausible speaker who could get their ear. The result of their conferences with that airy schemer, Sir John Blunt, was a reference to the National Debt in the Speech with which the King opened Parliament in 1719. The scheme, as now arranged, was to extinguish the irredeemable annuities, amounting at the time to £800,000 a year, and this was to be effected by the company taking over this liability in exchange for redeemable bonds at a lower rate of interest—five per

cent. until 1727, and afterwards four per cent. The advantages to the Government were manifest: it would have one creditor instead of innumerable annuitants, which would simplify accounts and result in a great economy; it would save a large sum by paying a much lower rate of interest, and, further, the debt would be redeemable at the pleasure of the Treasury. On the other hand, the company would have a vast capital to employ in commercial enterprises. Thus it appeared to the simple folk of that day: what the scheme really was has been admirably summarised by Mr. Justin McCarthy: "The nation was to take shares in the company in the first instance; and to deal with the company, for its commercial and other wares, in the second; and by means of that exclusive dealing in shares and in products it was to pay off the National Debt. In other words, three men, all having nothing, and heavily in debt, were to go into exclusive dealings with each other, and were thus to make profits, discharge their liabilities, and live in luxury for the rest of their days." ¹ This view, however, was then unfortunately taken by few people.

On January 22, 1720, the project was taken into consideration by the House of Commons, which then discussed the motion, "That the

¹ *History of the Four Georges*, Chap. XI.

Corporation of the Governor and Company of Merchants of Great Britain, trading to the South Sea and other parts of America, and for encouraging the fishery, having under their consideration how they may be most serviceable to his Majesty and his Government, and to show their great readiness to concur in the great and honourable design of reducing the National Debt, do humbly apprehend that if the public debts and annuities mentioned in the annexed estimate were taken into consideration and made part of the capital stock of the said company, it would greatly contribute to that most desirable end." While this was before the House, Mr. Brodrick was only one of many to urge that, considering the magnitude of the transaction, before any decision was pronounced other companies might have an opportunity to put forward tenders, and although the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that this was like selling the nation to auction, Brodrick's suggestion was carried by a considerable majority. Then the Bank of England made offers, only to be outbid by the South Sea Company; and in the end the latter corporation carried the day, having undertaken to pay to the Government as a premium the enormous sum of seven and a half millions, to be devoted by the recipients to the extinction of the debt. The Commons eventually

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consented to the Bill by 172 to 55, and the Lords by 83 to 17; though in the Upper House Lord Cowper denounced the project, and compared it to the Trojan horse, ushered in with great pomp and acclamation, but contrived for treachery and destruction.

It has been said that the Government made too good a bargain, and this, which was undoubtedly the case, was the result of the disaster that followed close upon its heels. The company, to make a success of its scheme, had, in the first place, to induce holders of stock and annuities to accept in exchange the same value of South Sea shares; and, in the second place, since it was certain that some of the Government's creditors would not be agreeable to this, it was necessary to create a further issue of the company's shares to be sold for cash, to cover the cost of purchasing the outstanding annuities and stock and to discharge the premium of seven and a half millions. To obtain the vast sums of money it was necessary to hold out great attractions, and the company had to make statements of the immense profits likely to be obtained from their shares.

So alluring were these representations that holders of stocks and annuities hastened to exchange the Government scrip for South Sea Company's shares, and the issues for cash met

with a ready response, millions being forthcoming within a few weeks. All England was soon in a ferment ; young and old, wise men and fools, seemed to have caught the infection ; and Change Alley, where the brokers did business, became for the time being the centre of the country, to which every one who could hastened, desirous in person to conduct their transactions. The most amazing thing was the amount of money available for the purchase of shares—no one had suspected the hoards that were stored in farm-houses and cottages, in manors and mansions. Shares went up and up, doubled in value in an hour, and then doubled again and again : men made tens of thousands in a day.

Some there were, more clear-sighted, more prudent, or less prone to excitement than the rest, who realised that this state of things could not endure indefinitely, and that though hundred pound shares might reach a thousand, they could scarcely remain at that figure : these sold their holdings and retired, well content with their enormous gains, and, when the crash came, were far from anxious even to hint at their profits—though Walpole, who speculated and sold out at a thousand, made no secret of his success. The majority, however, bought and sold, and sold and bought until came the inevitable crash, and

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they awoke one morning to find themselves ruined. The ballad-mongers naturally took the Bubble for the subject of some of their songs, and though the makers of rhymes are not usually regarded as financial prophets, to the credit of their intelligence it must be said that they resolutely sounded the warning note—of course, in vain. One of the most popular of the effusions, which was sung when the boom was at its height, was entitled, "A South Sea Ballad, or, some Remarks of Exchange Alley"—to a new tune, entitled "The Grand Elixir, or, the Philosopher's Stone Discovered," and this may be given here as a specimen—

" In London stands a famous pile,
And near that pile an alley,
Where merry crowds for riches toil,
And Wisdom stoops to Folly.
Here sad and joyful, high and low,
Court Fortune for her graces,
And as she smiles or frowns, they show
Their gestures and grimaces.

" Here stars and garters do appear,
Among our lords the rabble ;
To buy and see, to see and hear,
The Jews and Gentiles squabble.
Here crafty courtiers are too wise
For those who trust to fortune ;
They see the cheat with clearer eyes,
Who peep behind the curtain.

"Our greatest ladies hither come,
And ply in chariots daily ;
Oft pawn their jewels for a sum
To venture in the Alley.
Young harlots, too, from Drury lane,
Approach the 'Change in coaches,
To fool away the gold they gain
By their impure debauches.

"Long heads may thrive by sober rules,
Because they think, and drink not ;
But headlongs are our thriving fools,
Who only drink, and think not.
The lucky rogues, like spaniel dogs,
Leap into South Sea water,
And there they fish for golden frogs,
Not caring what comes a'ter.

"'Tis said that alchemists of old
Could turn a brazen kettle
Or leaden cistern into gold,—
That noble tempting metal ;
But if it here may be allow'd
To bring in great and small things,
Our cunning South Sea, like a god,
Turns nothing into all things !

"What need have we of Indian wealth,
Or commerce with our neighbours ?
Our constitution is in health,
And riches crown our labours.
Our South Sea ships have golden shrouds,
They bring us wealth, 'tis granted,
But lodge their treasure in the clouds,
To hide it till it's wanted.

" Oh ! Britain, bless thy present state,
Thou only happy nation,
So oddly rich, so madly great,
Since bubbles came in fashion !
Successful rakes exert their pride,
And count their airy millions ;
While homely drabs in coaches ride,
Brought up to town on pillions.

" Few men who follow reason's rules,
Grow fat with South Sea diet ;
Young rattles and unthinking fools
Are those that flourish by it.
Old musty jades, and pushing blades,
Who've least consideration,
Grow rich apace ; whilst wiser heads
Are struck with admiration.

" A race of men, who t'other day
Lay crush'd beneath disasters,
Are now by stock brought into play
And made our lords and masters.
But should our South Sea Babel fall,
What numbers would be frowning !
The losers then must ease their gall
By hanging or by drowning.

" Five hundred millions, notes and bonds,
Our stocks are worth in value ;
But neither lie in goods nor lands,
Or money let me tell you.
Yet though our foreign trade is lost,
Of mighty wealth we vapour ;
When all the riches that we boast
Consists of scraps of paper."

Persons with inventive minds saw no good
reason why the South Sea Company alone should

profit by the mania for speculation, and innumerable mushroom projects sprang up on every side, in defiance of a Royal Proclamation issued against "such mischievous and dangerous undertakings," especially the presuming to act as a corporate body, or raising stocks or shares without legal authority. Even the Prince of Wales lent his name as a governor of a Copper Company, and though Walpole pointed out to him that "The Prince of Wales's Bubble" would be cried in Change Alley and his conduct impugned in Parliament, it was not until the company was threatened with prosecution, and the Lords Justices sent him a message regretting that they would have to declare illegal an enterprise with which he was associated, that he consented to withdraw—with a profit of forty thousand pounds.

No less than one hundred and four companies were floated at this time, some for objects which were unattainable, others for objects that, though attainable, could only be realised at a cost that then would have spelt bankruptcy. The names of these have been preserved, and some are very quaint—

For wrecks to be fished for on the Irish coast,

For planting of mulberry trees and breeding of silkworms in Chelsea Park,

For the transmuting of quicksilver into a malleable and fine metal,
For assuring and increasing children's fortunes,
For trading in human hair,
For a wheel for a perpetual motion,
For erecting houses or hospitals for taking in and maintaining illegitimate children,
For making of iron with pit-coal,
For making salt-water fresh,
For paying pensions to widows and others at a small discount,
For improving malt liquors,
For building ships against pirates,
For ensuring all masters and mistresses the losses they may sustain by servants,
For making of oil from sun-flower seeds,
For extracting of silver from lead,
For recovery of seamen's wages,
For importing a large number of large jackasses from Spain in order to propagate a larger breed of mules,
Etc., etc., etc.

Though some of these schemes have since been satisfactorily established, others were so fanciful that it is difficult to distinguish between them and the burlesque companies imagined by humorists, to ridicule the rest, such as those "for insuring marriage against divorce," "for curing gout,"

and "for the invention of melting down sawdust and chips, and casting them into clean deal boards without cracks or knots." It is difficult to believe that people could be so mad as to take shares in a company "for carrying on an undertaking of great advantage, but nobody to know what it is," with a capital of £500,000 in 5,000 shares of £100 each, the deposit on application to be two pounds a share, and the secret of the venture to be made known on allotment! Yet eleven hundred shares were applied for on the day the lists opened—on the evening of that same day the subscribers learnt that the object of the undertaking was to benefit the promoter, who had decamped with the deposits amounting to £2,200.

In France at this time there was a company founded on the same principle as the South Sea Company. The moving spirit was John Law, a Scotchman, who, having in 1694 killed "Beau" Wilson in a duel, had been sentenced to death, but, escaping from prison, had crossed the Channel. France was then in a very bad financial condition, the long war having emptied the state coffers; and when Law proposed to set on foot a concern that should have a monopoly of trade in the country of the Mississippi in North America in return for undertaking the payment of the Government debts, he was welcomed with open arms by

the Regent. The Company was founded in 1717, but it was not until two years later, when it was incorporated with the French, India, and China Companies, that there was a boom in the shares, which eventually rose to 1,200 per cent. There was the same wave of speculation there as here ; in February 1720 the Regent appointed Law Controller-General of the finances of France, and in July the scheme collapsed, the news first reaching England on the twentieth of that month.

The failure of the Mississippi Company must, in course of time, have made itself felt in England, and no doubt the news of it induced those persons who still retained some common-sense to take their profits, and speculate no more ; but the South Sea Company brought its house about its ears sooner than might have been the case by the (under the circumstances) ill-advised move of obtaining writs of *scire facias* against the illegal companies, of whose rivalry they were jealous—

“Change Alley’s so thin that a man may now walk,
And if he’ll but listen may hear himself talk,
For since the suppression of Bubbles in June
Those clamorous catches are quite out of tune.
No more of the Hubbles nor Bubbles we see,
But all the whole nation attends the South Sea.

The Salts and the Fisheries likewise are gone,
All the Stock of the Bubbles is swallow'd in one,
Which (barring the ruin of all other trade)
Is the cleverest project that ever was made :
For now the contrivers are tipt with a fee,
If they souse the subscribers into the South Sea."

So ran a ballad of the day, written when the smaller companies were prevented from carrying on business, and it concluded with a warning—

" Like Pharaoh's lean kine that devour'd the fat,
It has knocked down the puny contrivances flat ;
But if I mistake not I've read that his host
And himself in the Red Sea were utterly lost :
He thought to get riches, and why should not we
Remember the Red, when we cross the South Sea."

While the Directors of the South Sea Company were still congratulating themselves on having cleared the field of all competitors, it suddenly was made very clear to them that they had made a fatal mistake, for, while they had disposed of their rivals, they had created an atmosphere of distrust. Men who had lost money in the little companies began to wonder if the basis of the South Sea Company was sound; and here one sold his shares to be on the safe side, and then another, until, speculators being like a crowd of sheep, none were buyers and all sellers. Early in September the shares were at 1,000, in October they were 300, and eventually they fell to 175—a price, it is often overlooked, that still gave a

handsome profit to original investors in hundred pound shares.

The vast majority of those who held shares in the South Sea Company were not investors but speculators, and when the crash came many thousands were ruined in all classes of society from yeomen to noblemen, who had followed the example of the Prince of Wales in associating with this and minor concerns, and had not been so sensible as he to retire with a profit. The people had no one to blame but themselves, for they had brought disaster upon themselves by their endeavours to get rich in a hurry; but ruined and desperate men are not careful to bestow their anger in the right direction, and the whole country inveighed against the Directors, against the Ministers and "the foreigners," and not less tumultuously against the King, who certainly had had no hand in the matter.

So dangerous was the state of the country that messengers were sent to Hanover urging George to return without delay. "Upon the first news we had of the unhappy turn the Stocks and public Credit begun to take, we got the King to fix the meeting of the Parliament for the 25th of November," Sunderland wrote on October 19, to Lord Carlisle from the Castle of Göhrde, where he was in attendance upon the King.

"Since that, within these three or four days, that we have had the news of the Credit's being lower and lower, and of things being every day in a worse condition, the King has taken the resolution of going over, so as to hold the Parliament on the 8th of November, which is as soon as it is possible for him to be there, and orders are sent for the necessary notice. I myself should have set out as soon as we had the news of this melancholy state of things, which was but three or four days ago, but that I thought the first necessary step was to fix the King's going as soon as possible, and now that is done, I shall set out from this place to-morrow, so that I hope in a very few days to have the honour of kissing your hands in England."¹ George arrived in England on Lord Mayor's Day, and had to bear his share of violent abuse from the people. However, the abuse was of little importance one way or the other : what mattered was that the situation was so dangerous that no one could forecast what would happen, for George's presence did not restore confidence, and the Stock continued to fall. "I believe there will be every day more and more people of quality reduced to the necessity of leaving England, the Stock still keeps falling,

¹ *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report IV, Appendix vi, p. 24.*

and 'tis now said the Prince and his party are for entirely destroying the whole scheme, and either supporting the Bank, or erecting some other bank of credit. This report has put most people in despair. Till to-day there has been a report that the Bank or South Sea would agree, and things would be put upon so good a foot the Stock would rise to 400." So Lady Anne Irwin wrote on November 17 to her father, Lord Carlisle ; and on December 24 she addressed the same correspondent : " Yesterday there was a general Court at the South Sea House, where 'twas thought if they durst they had a design to give out the receipts of the third subscription at a 1,000, but the town was so alarmed with the report, and the clamour of the City so great, that the Ministry (who are properly the Directors) durst not go through with their design There was papers dropt about the Court to desire every honest gentleman not to sit near the Directors for fear of accidents, and, I believe, had they proposed giving out receipts at a 1,000, there had been a great deal of mischief done, for there were several people went with pocket pistols and resolved to use them, if the proposition I mentioned before had been named." ¹

¹ *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report XV, Appendix vi, pp. 25, 26.*

In the meantime, however, George had not been idle. The Hanoverian ministers, fearful of rebellion, had lost their heads and suggested that he should either abdicate in favour of his son or endeavour to render the Crown absolute by a *coup d'état*;¹ but George's common-sense saved him from committing the latter blunder, and his courage would not allow him to entertain the first proposal; and without much delay he found the way out of the untenable position by summoning to his aid the only man who could cope with the situation, Robert Walpole.

Parliament met on December 8, and George from the throne expressed his concern "for the unhappy turn of affairs which has so much affected the public credit at home," and inviting both Houses to make an endeavour speedily to restore the national credit. "I have never approved of the South Sea scheme," Walpole

¹ Coxe: *Sir Robert Walpole*, Vol. II, p. 22.

"Idle reports were circulated and believed, that Sunderland was endeavouring to prevail on the King to marry the Duchess of Kendal, with a view to diminish the influence of the Prince of Wales, and that he was following the example of his father with James II, in driving his master to such acts of unpopularity as might cause a deposition and establish a republic on the ruins of the throne. A general outcry prevailed, that the King and ministers had leagued by the South Sea Company to dupe the nation, and that the remedy for these enormous evils would be more dangerous than the disorder itself."—*Ibid.*

addressed the Commons, "and am sensible it has done a great deal of mischief, but since it cannot be undone, I think it the duty of all men to give their help towards retrieving it, and with this view, I have already bestowed some thought on a proposal to restore public credit." Into the financial measures he proposed it is not necessary here to enter, it is sufficient to remark that on December 12 the Directors of the South Sea Company were ordered to lay before the House an account of their proceedings, and after Christmas a Secret Committee was appointed to examine its affairs in all its details.

The Secret Committee reported, among other things, that half-a-million of fictitious South Sea stock had been created in order that the profit upon that sum might be disposed of by the Directors to facilitate the passage of the Bill through Parliament. Though this was fraud, there was, unfortunately, no law under which the guilty persons could be dealt with, but they were not for that reason to be allowed to escape. "Extraordinary crimes call for extraordinary remedies," said Lord Molesworth. "The Roman law-givers had not foreseen the possible existence of a parricide ; but as soon as the first monster appeared, he was sewn in a sack, and cast headlong into the Tiber ; and as I think the contrivers of the South

Sea scheme to be the parricides of their country, I shall willingly see them undergo the same punishment." In the end the Directors' estates to the value of over two millions sterling, were confiscated for the relief of the sufferers, and they were declared for ever incapable to hold any place or to sit in Parliament.

The matter, of course, could not end with the punishment of the Directors, for if they had given bribes, other people must have taken them. Soon it was known that Ministers holding high office were implicated in the affair, and the names of Aislabie, Sunderland, James Craggs the Elder and James Craggs the Younger, and Charles Stanhope were freely mentioned as having accepted gifts of Stock to further the interest of the South Sea Company.

On January 23 (1721) Aislabie had resigned the Chancellorship of the Exchequer; and in March, after considering the report of the Secret Committee, the House of Commons found him guilty of "most notorious, dangerous, and infamous corruption," and declared that he "had encouraged and promoted the dangerous and destructive execution of the South Sea scheme, with a view to his own exorbitant profit." For these offences he was expelled the House, for a while committed to the Tower, and all the property

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he had acquired since October 20, 1718, was confiscated for the benefit of the sufferers; but he was allowed to retain his country estate and everything of which he was possessed before that date.

James Craggs the Younger, Secretary of State, died of small-pox on February 16, before the enquiry was concluded, and such evidence as had been collected, went no further than to show that large parcels of shares for which he made no payment were transferred to him, but these, it was generally supposed, merely passed through his hands, *en route* to the Duchess of Kendal and others. No objection was raised to his interment in Westminster Abbey, where, upon his tomb is engraved an epitaph by Pope—

"Statesman, yet friend to truth! of soul sincere,
In action faithful, and in honour clear!
Who broke no promise, served no private end;
Who gained no title, and who lost no friend;
Ennobled by himself, by all approved;
Praised, wept, and honoured, by the muse he loved."¹

¹ In Pope's words is the following "Dialogue," dated 1717.

"*Pope.*—'Since my old friend is grown so great
As to be a Minister of State,
I'm told, but 'tis not true, I hope,
That Craggs will be ashamed of Pope.'

"*Craggs.*—'Alas! If I am such a creature
To grow the worse for growing greater;
Why, faith! in spite of all my brags,
'Tis Pope must be ashamed of Craggs.'"

Though James Craggs the Elder, Postmaster-General, was not a Director, he was very deeply involved in the Company's affairs, and the Secret Committee reported that he was "a notorious accomplice and confederate with . . . Robert Knight, a son of the late Director of the South Sea Company, in carrying on their corrupt and scandalous practices." The House of Commons confiscated all his property acquired since December 1, 1719, for the benefit of the sufferers of the Bubble, but, overwhelmed by the loss of his son and troubled by shame, on March 16 he died—it is said by his own hand.

Another tragedy early in February 1721, that arose indirectly out of this affair, was the death of Lord Stanhope, one of the few ministers upon whom suspicion never for a moment fell. The young Duke of Wharton soon after he had taken his seat in the House of Lords had on April 20, 1720, taken part in the debate on the South Sea Bill, and had made a tremendous onslaught, not only on this proposal, but on the entire policy of the Government, concluding with a terrific attack on Stanhope, whom he accused of having made, or at least of having fostered, the breach between the King and the Prince of Wales, comparing him to Sejanus, "that evil and too powerful minister who made a division in the Imperial party

and rendered the reign of Tiberius hateful to the Romans." The minister was not the man to sit quiet under such castigation, and he turned the tables on his assailant with happy dexterity. "The Romans were most certainly a great people, and furnished many illustrious examples in their history, which ought to be carefully read," he said in reply. "The Romans were likewise universally allowed to be a wise people, and they showed themselves to be so in nothing more than by debarring young noblemen from speaking in the Senate till they understood good manners and propriety of language; and as the Duke has quoted an instance from this history of a bad minister, I beg leave to quote from the same history an instance of a great man, a patriot of his country, who had a son so profligate that he would have betrayed the liberties of it, on which account his father himself had him whipped to death." The apt retort rankled, and, in the following year, returning to the question of the South Sea Company's affairs, he attacked Stanhope in a speech at once so brilliant and so bitter that the latter, rising in a great passion to reply, broke a blood-vessel, from the effects of which he died on the following day. "I believe, in the present distracted juncture, the whole Cabinet Council would have been a less loss both to the King

and nation, not only for his quite superior knowledge on all foreign affairs, but from the great credit he had at present at home, when few others have any at all," Sir John Vanburgh wrote to Lord Carlisle on February 7. "He stood quite clear in the eyes of all parties in regard to this devilish South Sea affair, that is like to taint the greatest part of those who were otherwise fit to do business."

The cashier of the company, Robert Knight, gave evidence before the Secret Committee, but fled before the examination was concluded, with a book containing the records of important transactions. At Brabant he was arrested and imprisoned, but the authorities refused to surrender him to the English Government; and it was generally believed that the application was a feint, and that his presence in this country was not really desired, and that his flight had been connived at by great personages, who were anxious to keep him abroad until the matter died away. In fact, the whole was said to be a *screen* to hide the conduct of certain persons at Court, and there was issued a caricature, entitled, "The Brabant Screen," in which Knight, in travelling dress, is receiving despatches from the Duchess of Kendal, who is standing behind a screen—below the sketch are these lines—

"In vain Great Britain sues for Knight's discharge,
In vain we hope to see that wretch at large ;

If traitors here the villain would secure,
Our ills must all increase, our woes be sure.
Should he return, the screen would useless be,
And all men then the mystery would see."

Charles Stanhope, the cousin of Lord Stanhope, was acquitted in the House of Commons by the narrow majority of three votes. Sunderland fared better. After the report of the Secret Committee the motion was put before the House that, "after the proposals of the South Sea Company were accepted by this House, and a bill ordered to be brought in thereupon, and before such bill passed, £50,000 of the capital stock of the South Sea Company was taken in by Robert Knight, late cashier of the said company, for the use and upon the account of Charles, Earl of Sunderland, a Lord of Parliament and First Commissioner of the Treasury, without any valuable consideration paid, and sufficient receipt given, for payment for or acceptance of the same," but this was negatived by 233 to 172 votes. Indeed the case against Sunderland was not clear, and the worst that can be said is that things were done in his name of which he was not cognisant. "All I will say now is, that I know very well, that when misfortunes happen in most countries, and particularly in England, it's the way to lay it at the door of those who have a share in the administration; that therefore,

ever since I meddled in public business, I never thought of anything but of doing the best I could for the public, with honest intentions, and with as much prudence as my poor understanding is capable of, and for the consequences afterwards, one must sit easy under them. That never was more the case than in this affair of the South Sea, which had almost the unanimous approbation and applause of all parties in the nation, in Parliament and out of it, and which of a sudden, in the compass of a very few, not months, not weeks, but days, has taken so strange and so surprising a turn. As for my having been absent I am also very sensible, and hear it from many quarters, that that is complained of, but it does not give me much uneasiness, because I am confident no one in England does imagine I ever came into these parts of the world for my pleasure. I should not have come either last year or this, but that all our friends thought it might be of use to the public service, and particularly in contributing to the King's early return, and an early session, which is brought about, and I will venture to say, would not have been so without me."¹ So Sunderland had written in a private letter to Lord Carlisle from Göhrde, on October 19, 1720, when

¹ *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report XV, Appendix vi, p. 25.*

he first heard of the catastrophe, and in the face of its obvious sincerity it is almost impossible to believe him guilty; but this was not the opinion of the general public, who would not have it that he was innocent. Though he resigned his office, he still retained his influence with the King, and his death in April 1722 was a blow to his royal master.

"The storm about the South Seas is now near an end," Sir John Vanburgh wrote to Lord Carlisle on February 28, 1720; but the wish was evidently father to the thought, for Sir John had been too optimistic, and a month later he remarked, "The South Sea does so interfere with almost everybody's affairs more or less, that all they have to do is to some extent governed by it. Even I, who have not gamed at all, shall probably be a loser near two thousand pounds." The affair itself was still the main theme throughout the country for many a month to come, and its effects were felt for a decade, when, under the skilful guidance of Walpole, who, after the death of Stanhope and Sunderland, had no rival throughout the remaining years of the reign of George I, the worst results were overcome and the public credit set upon a firmer basis than ever before.

CHAPTER XXIII

GEORGE AS KING OF ENGLAND

BEFORE presenting a view of George as King, it is not out of place to present some estimates arrived at by various historians and biographers.

"George I," we read in Lord Chesterfield's *Characters*, "was an honest, dull, German gentleman, as unfit as unwilling to act the part of a king, which is to shine and to oppress. Lazy and inactive even in his pleasures, which were therefore lowly sensual. He was coolly intrepid, and indolently benevolent. He was diffident of his own parts, which made him speak little in public, and prefer in his social, which were his favourite, hours the company of wags and buffoons. Even his mistress, the Duchess of Kendal, with whom he passed most of his time, and who had all influence over him, was very little above an idiot. Importunity alone could make him act, and then only to get rid of it. His views of affection were simply confined to the narrow company of his Electorate: England was too big for him. If he had nothing great as a king, he had nothing bad as a man; and if he does not adorn, at least he will not stain, the annals of this country. In private

life he would have been loved and esteemed as a good citizen, a good friend, and a good neighbour. Happy were it for Europe, happy for the world, if there were not greater kings in it."

Addison's comment, "The most amiable monarch that ever filled a throne," is fulsome; the same condemnation must be the portion of Dr. Chandler's tribute, "A wise, a steady, and a righteous Prince, and worthy to be remembered with double honour;" and of Tindal's eulogy: "He was of a grave, easy, and calm temper, and generous upon all occasions; and the severity and benignity of his mind discovered themselves in his countenance, and captivated the love and veneration of all who approached him."

Coxe's, after allusion to George's countenance, "benign but without much expression," his "awkward address," and his want of taste for the fine arts or literature, suggests that his "natural reserve was heightened by ignorance of the language, of the first principles of the English constitution, and of the spirit and temper of the people;" and adds, that "he was easy and familiar only in his hours of relaxation, and to those alone who formed his usual society, not fond of attracting notice, phlegmatic and grave in his public deportment, hating the splendour of majesty, shunning crowds." A score of years later Lord Mahon wrote

of him: "The new King was a man of more virtues than accomplishments. His private character—if, indeed, the character of a king can ever be called private—was upright, honourable, and benevolent. He was apt to remember services much longer than injuries—a quality rare in every rank of life, but least of all common with princes. He was steady in his friendships, even in his temper; sparing, and sometimes niggardly, in his expenses. This severe economy also extended to his time, which he distributed with the precision of a piece of machinery, and of which he devoted no small share to public business. . . . But unhappily his qualities, however solid, were not shining. A heavy countenance, an awkward address, an aversion to the pomp of majesty, nay even to the acclamations which greeted him, disgusted the multitude; while men of education were mortified at finding that he neither loved nor encouraged any branch of literature or science, nor any of the fine arts, except music."

"He figures through life as a bad husband and a bad father, and in so far as England is concerned, a bad King," Jesse expressed his opinion in his *Memoirs of the Court of England*. "He wanted even those graceful qualifications of the Stuarts, a love for polite literature and the fine arts: he possessed no taste for the one, and extended no

patronage to the other. The only thing he seems to have had a regard for was his own ease. It may be remarked, however, that, with the single exception of social pleasantry and constitutional good-humour, he seems to have been possessed of no redeeming quality which reflected dignity on him as a monarch, or rendered him amiable as a man." Not less damnatory is Mr. Fitzgerald Molloy, who seems to have paraphrased Jesse's opinion: "His private life was one of glaring immorality; as a husband he was faithless, cruel, and vindictive; as a father his actions were unnatural; as a King he was despicable; and as a man he scarcely presented throughout his days one redeeming virtue to a life of gross sensuality." Mr. Justin McCarthy, the latest writer on George, is not less severe: "He inherited none of the accomplishments of his mother. His father was a man of some talent and force of character, but he cared nothing for books or education of any kind, and George was allowed to revel in ignorance. He had no particular merit, except a certain easy good nature, which rendered him unwilling to do harm to any one, unless some interest of his own should make it convenient. His neglected and unrestrained youth was abandoned to licence and profligacy. . . . A dull, stupid, and profligate King, full of drink and low conversation, without

dignity of appearance or manner, without sympathy of any kind with the English people and the English ways, and without the slightest knowledge of the English language."

To the last has been left the judicial pronouncement of Carlyle, the one writer who, by virtue of his knowledge of the German character and his acquaintance with German history, can be relied upon to criticise with sympathy born of understanding. "The man had his big burden, big honours so-called, absurd enough some of them, in this world; but he bore them with a certain gravity and discretion: a man of more probity, insight, and general human faculty than he now gets credit for. His word was sacred to him. He had the courage of a Wolf, or Lion-Man; quietly royal in that respect at least. His sense of equity, of what was true and honourable in men and things, remained uneffaced to a respectable degree; and surely it has resisted much. Wilder puddle of muddy infatuations from without and from within, if we consider it well,—of irreconcilable incoherences, bottomless universal hypocrisies, solecisms bred with him, and imposed on him,—few sons of Adam had hitherto lived in."

The charges brought by the English against George as King have already been summarised as (i) ignorance of the English language and (ii) of

the English constitution, (iii) affection for Hanover, and (iv) a tendency to sacrifice to the interests of the Electorate those of his Kingdom, and, lastly, (v) the rapacity of those of his fellow countrymen who came over in his *suite*.

It has been admitted that the King did not repress the mercenary tendencies of the Hanoverian men and women who accompanied him, and it is not to be denied that his cynical tolerance of their practices is a blot on his reputation ; but before sentence is passed, the fact must be taken into consideration that bribery was in those days the rule rather than the exception, and that there is Walpole's authority for the belief that every member of the English Parliament had his price. With the exception of his partiality for his countrymen, it must be admitted that, taking all things into consideration, George made a very good King of England, except, perhaps in the rare instances when the interests of Hanover and England conflicted, on which occasions, as was only natural, he inclined to measures for the well-being of his beloved Electorate. Notably was this last the case soon after his accession in the matter of the Duchies of Bremen and Verden.

George, within his limits, was a wise man. Though accustomed to the exercise of arbitrary power in Hanover, he was quick to realise that he

must not attempt to rule England on the same lines. Though he had been accused of gross ignorance of the constitution of his new dominions, he was not, it is clear, unaware of the larger principles under which this country was administered ; and to these he conformed willingly. " Though his own tendencies were entirely in the direction of absolute government," Dr. Ward has paid tribute to him, " he mastered rebellion and kept down disaffection without giving the aspect of tyranny to a constitutional rule." ¹

George was clear-sighted enough to realise his incompetence to grapple with minor details of government. " I intend to put myself entirely in the hands of my (English) ministers," he said before he left Herrenhausen, " for they will be completely responsible for everything I do." To this resolve he adhered throughout his reign, as is shown by a letter from the Count de Broglie to Louis XV, dated July 1724 : " He will have no disputes with the Parliament, but commits the

¹ George I (*Dictionary of National Biography*).

" This illustrious monarch, in answer to a petition of the lord mayor and aldermen of the city of London, on the 6th of November, 1718, said, ' I shall be glad, not only for your sakes, but for my own, if any defects which may touch the rights of my good subjects are discovered in my time, since that will furnish me with the means of giving you, and all my people, an indisputable proof of my tenderness of their privileges.' "—*Percy Anecdotes* (ed. Timbs), Vol. I, p. 154.

entire transaction of that business to Walpole ; choosing rather that the responsibility should fall on his minister's head than on his head." In this comment by De Broglie may be discerned a suggestion that George thrust his responsibilities on other shoulders ; but the French Ambassador forgot that in a country where " the King can do no wrong," the minister is responsible, whether fettered or unfettered by the monarch's interference in affairs. The King's attitude was, therefore, strictly constitutional ; George III, in a similiar position, with his narrow mind and his strong views of the royal prerogative, would have lost the kingdom to his descendants : his great-grandfather, a shrewder man, was not too proud to let others preserve it for him.

Besides simplicity of character and an even temper, George, in spite of his military training, had a love of peace that was of the greatest value to a country tired of waging war ; he had, further, great powers of application to business, and he portioned out his time with the greatest care, so that he need neglect nothing of importance to the state. He worked so hard that he could afford to smile when his daughter-in-law told him he was grown lazy. He assured her he was busy from morning to night. She said, " Sir, I tell you they say the Ministry does everything and you

nothing," to which he replied laughing, " That is all the thanks I get for all the pains I take ! " ¹

There was this amount of truth in the Princess of Wales's remark, that the King's lack of acquaintance with English methods of government had, as a direct sequence, the advantage of giving a freer hand to the Ministry ; while his very slight knowledge of the language of his new subjects had a result not less happy. The Sovereign had always presided at meetings of the Privy Council, and when, after the Restoration of 1660, questions of policy were usually discussed by a smaller body of advisers, afterwards known as the Cabinet Council, he presided also over the deliberations of this assembly. Hereafter, the fact of the royal presence at the Privy Council was of no importance, for there only business of a purely formal character was transacted ; but the monarch's attendance at Cabinet Councils was a very different matter, for there, as Sir William Anson puts it, " the personal opinion and wishes of Charles, of William, and Anne, formed an important factor in the discussions which took place and in the conclusions reached." ²

George, on his accession, followed the practice of

¹ Lady Cowper : *Diary*, February 20, 1716 ; p. 79.

² *Law and Custom of the Constitution*, second edition, Vol. II, p. 38.
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his predecessors, but when, after a time, he found he could not easily understand what was said, and that he was merely spending these hours in a way that was useless as well as inexpressibly tedious, he absented himself. His son, when he succeeded to the throne, copied the example of his father, and the monarch's presence at the Cabinet Councils became a thing of the past: it does not come within the scope of this work to trace the far-reaching effects of this alteration in custom.

"I do not believe that the English, who are so impatient, will put up for any time with a king who cannot speak the language," the Duchess of Orleans wrote on November 8, 1714, in this case the wish being father to the thought. But the Duchess did not understand the situation. It was not George who wanted England, but England who wanted George. There is proof of this on every hand, in every page of the history of this period. "George did not understand one sentence of the English language, was ignorant of English ways, history, and tradition, and had as little sympathy with the growing sentiments of the majority of educated English people as if he had been an Amurath succeeding an Amurath," says Mr. Justin McCarthy, the historian of the Hanoverian dynasty in England: yet England

clung to the foreign King. "We took him," says Thackeray, hitting the right nail on the head, "because we wanted him, because he served our turn ; we laughed at his uncouth German ways, and sneered at him. He took our loyalty for what it was worth ; laid hands on what money he could ; kept us assuredly from Popery and wooden shoes. I for one, would have been on his side in those days. Cynical and selfish, as he was, he was better than a King out of St. Germain's, with the French King's orders in his pocket, and a swarm of Jesuits in his train." Hear John Nicholls, not the most kindly critic of the Georges : "I do not mean to undervalue the advantage from their succession to the Crown of Great Britain. The support of that family on the throne of Great Britain has preserved us from popery and despotism, and the deliverance is inestimable. By that expression, *popery*, I do not mean the religious opinions in which the Catholics differ from the Protestants ; I mean papal power considered politically."

Those who blame George for his deficiencies as King of England do so because, with the true insular spirit, they regard him from the British standpoint, and close their eyes to the fact that there is another aspect that demands consideration : it is only the Briton who, diverting things from

their original purpose, complains that they were not from the first shaped for his use. Of course, George might have learned English as he learned Latin, French, and Italian ; and, equally of course, he might have devoted laborious days to the study of the English constitution, as his mother did before him. An ideal Prince would undoubtedly have done so ; but not the most favourable critic of George Lewis claims that the subject of his eulogy was ideal.

George was a cynic, a good-humoured cynic, but still a cynic. He did not want to come to England, but he knew that if he was wanted this would not be taken into account ; and he was well aware that if, when he had settled there, it was found more convenient to send him back than to keep him, even though then he might desire to stay, his wishes would not be consulted. He was shrewd enough to realise that to a great extent he would merely be a pawn in the great game of politics, and that he could hope to be little more than a cypher in the hands of those he called to the direction of affairs. His feelings on his arrival at Greenwich after the death of Queen Anne have been admirably depicted by Thackeray, who, although he, like the rest, regarded George as created for the especial convenience of this great nation, notwithstanding, being a great-hearted

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man, could not refuse to pay the monarch a tribute of pity—

“ The King we had selected : the courtiers who came in his train ; the English nobles who came to welcome him, and on many of whom the shrewd old cynic turned his back—I protest it is a wonderful satirical picture. I am a citizen waiting at Greenwich pier, say, and crying, ‘ Hurrah for King George ’ ; and yet I can scarcely keep my countenance, and help laughing at the enormous absurdity of this advent ! Here we are, all on our knees. Here is the Archbishop of Canterbury, prostrating himself to the head of this church, with Kielmansegg and Schulenburg with their ruddled cheeks grinning behind the Defender of the Faith. Here is my Lord Duke of Marlborough, kneeling too, the greatest warrior of all times ; he who betrayed King William—betrayed King James II—betrayed Queen Anne—betrayed England to the French, the Elector to the Pretender, the Pretender to the Elector : and here are my Lords Oxford and Bolingbroke, the latter of whom has just tripped up the heels of the former, and if a month’s more time had been allowed him, would have had King James at Westminster. The great Whig gentlemen made their bows and *congrées* with proper decorum and ceremony, but yonder keen old schemer knows the value of their

loyalty. 'Loyalty,' he must think, 'as applied to me, it is absurd! There are fifty nearer heirs to the throne than I am. I am but an accident, and you fine Whig gentlemen take me for your own sake, not for mine. You Tories take me, you Archbishop, smirking on your knees, and prating about Heaven, you know I don't care a fig for your Thirty-nine Articles, and can't understand a word of your silly sermons. You, my Lords Bolingbroke and Oxford—you know you were conspiring against me a month ago; and you, my Lord Duke of Marlborough, you would sell me or any man else, if you found your advantage in it. Come, my good Melusine, come, my honest Sophia, let us go into my private room, and have some oysters and some Rhine wine, and some pipes afterwards: let us make the best of our situation; let us take what we can get, and leave those crawling, brawling, lying English to shout, and fight, and cheat, in their own way.'"¹

George had responded without demur and at great sacrifice of his personal inclination to the call of duty, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that, instead of being expected to be grateful for having undesired greatness thrust upon him, he anticipated some show of sympathy for the difficulties of the position to which he was called,

¹ Thackeray: *The Four Georges—George the First*.

which difficulties, it may be said, have almost invariably been ignored or underrated. If he cherished any such hope, it was doomed to speedy extinction : no one in all England made the least endeavour to lighten his lot. Indeed, the country made it very clear to him that, though it had summoned him, and though it could not do without him, it regarded him as a most distasteful alternative, only one degree better than the civil war that would almost certainly have followed the accession of the Pretender to the throne. So it was, that while England behaved from the first as if it had a grievance against George, in reality that King had a very well founded grievance against England.

CHAPTER XXIV

GEORGE I'S VISITS TO HANOVER—HIS DEATH

GEORGE, as it has already been said, had only with difficulty overcome his reluctance to leave Hanover, and he had not long been in England ere he suffered from a deep craving to visit his beloved country. Indeed, such was his longing to return for a while to his native land that, in 1716, he announced his intention to go there. The Ministry in vain represented that England had not settled down after the insurrection of the previous year, and though subsequently they presented a written remonstrance, their efforts to restrain him were ineffectual. It is true that Parliament might take the drastic step of forbidding George to go, for it was necessary to secure the permission of that body, since a clause in the Act of Settlement made it essential to obtain Parliamentary sanction before the reigning sovereign could leave the country ; but this was so obviously an undesirable course that Walpole, who foresaw that there would in course of time be other visits, did not merely apply for the necessary permission, but put up Sir John Cope to move



From a painting by J. Horsemann

SOPHIA DOROTHEA, PRINCESS ROYAL OF PRUSSIA

the refusal of the clause—a measure that was agreed to unanimously.

The King's fondness for Germany was made the subject of some satirical verses by Samuel, the brother of John, Wesley, cast in the form of a conversation between George and the Duchess—

“ As soon as the wind it came fairly about,
That kept the King in and his enemies out,
He determined no longer confinement to bear,
And thus to his Duchess his mind did declare :

“ Quoth he, ‘ My dear Kenny, I’ve been tired a great while
With living obscure in this poor little isle,
And now Spain and Pretender have no more mines to
spring,
I’m resolved to go home and live like a King.’ ”

The Duchess concurs in the sentiments expressed by George, and then she describes and laughs at the persons in whom the control of the kingdom is vested—

“ ‘ On the whole, I’ll be hanged if all over the realm
There are thirteen such fools to be put to the helm ;
So for this time be easy, nor have jealous thought,
They ha’n’t sense to sell you, nor are worth being bought.’ ”

“ ‘ This for that (quoth the King, in very bad French),
I chose them for my regents, and you for my wench,
And neither, I’m sure, will my trust e’er betray,
For the devil won’t take you, if I turn you away.’ ”

The King set out in high spirits, and on his arrival was greeted by his subjects with acclamation.

No one was so happy as he, removed from an uncongenial atmosphere. There was business of state to transact, of course, for a monarch can never entirely divorce himself from his kingdom, and to Hanover came ambassadors from all parts of Europe to discuss diplomatic matters: but George contrived, to some degree, to live the life he had led before he became King of England.

"Since the King's arrival from Pymont we have a Drawing-Room every night at Herrenhausen, in the green-house (the Orangery?), which, with walking in the garden, is very pleasant

Lord Peterborough told us the King lived so happily here, that he believed he had forgot *the accident that happened to him and his family on the 1st of August, 1714*,"¹ Clavering wrote from Hanover to Lady Cowper on September 4; and three months later, dating from the same place, he said: "Mr. Wortley Montagu and his Lady are here. They were so very impatient to see his Majesty that they travelled night and day from Vienna here. Her Ladyship is mighty gay and airy, and occasions a great deal of discourse. Since her arrival the King has took but little notice of any other lady, not even of Madame Kielmansegg, which the ladies of Hanover don't relish very well; for my part, I can't help rejoicing to see

¹ Lady Cowper: *Diary*, p. 194.

his Majesty prefer us to the Germans."¹ Lady Mary was in high favour, which was particularly convenient to her and her husband in the crowded town. "The King," she wrote to Lady Bristol, "has had the goodness to appoint us a lodging in one part of the Palace, without which we should be very ill accommodated ; for the vast number of English crowds the town so much, it is very good luck to be able to get one sorry room in a miserable tavern. I dined to-day with the Portuguese ambassador, who thinks himself very happy to have two wretched parlours in an inn."² Later in the year, Wortley Montagu, who was Member of Parliament for Huntingdon, and Commissioner of the Treasury in 1714 and 1715, was appointed ambassador to Constantinople, and so he and his wife for two years passed out of English society.

George went to Hanover for the second time in 1719 ;³ and again in 1720, when he visited Osna-brück and his favourite watering-place, Pyrmont, received the King of Prussia at Herrenhausen, and reluctantly returned to England earlier than

¹ Lady Cowper : *Diary*, p. 195.

² *Letters* (ed. Thomas), Vol. I, p. 135.

³ For particulars of this and later visits of George to Hanover, see Malortie : *Geschichte des Braunschweig-Lüneburgischen Hauses und Hofes*, Vol. I, pp. 62-80, 81-80, 99-127, 137-151.

he had intended owing to an imperative summons by the Ministry on the bursting of the South Sea bubble.

June 1723 found him again at Pyrmont and Hanover, and on this occasion he went also to his hunting-seat at Göhrde, and paid a visit to the King of Prussia at Berlin. He arrived in England in December ; but in eighteen months again went "home," and this time returned in the teeth of a great storm.¹

In 1726, George left England for the sixth and last time.

Some little time before his departure the King, to use the phraseology of Horace Walpole, at last paid the English the compliment of choosing from among them a mistress. This lady was Anne Maria Garetta Brett, the eldest daughter by her second husband, Colonel Henry Brett, of the repudiated wife of the Earl of Macclesfield, the alleged mother of Richard Savage, the poet.

¹ "Since the King's return from the waters [Pyrmont], which agreed very well with him, we have had a great appearance of strangers, especially foreign ministers. The King of Prussia has paid a visit here of about ten days : he has a brisk, enterprising look, wears a short waistcoat, narrow hat, and broad sword, and has his own hair tied back, and obliges all his soldiers and the officers of his army to do the like ; and because his army is clothed in blue, he generally wears the same colour himself."—Joseph Wilcocks to Bishop Kennett, Hanover, September 5, 1720.

Miss Brett was very handsome, and had the dark eyes, complexion, and hair of a Spanish beauty. Her royal lover provided for her apartments at St. James's—"Abishag was lodged in the palace under the eyes of Bathsheba, who seemed to maintain her power, as other favourite sovereigns have done, by suffering partners in the sovereign's 'affections,'"¹ says Walpole; who further states that the new mistress was to be rewarded for her complacency with a Countess's coronet, and though this rank was to indicate her position as less important than that of the Duchess of Kendal, it was generally surmised that on the King's return the struggle for ascendancy between the latter and the former would be very bitter and very severe. Of the younger woman's confidence in her power over the King there is no doubt, and there was forthcoming proof of this after his Majesty's departure when she ordered a door to be constructed to lead from the suite of rooms into the royal garden. The strong-minded Princess Anne, the eldest daughter of the Prince of Wales, who with her two sisters still lived at St. James's, even after the abortive reconciliation between her father and her grandfather, at once gave directions for the door to be walled up: Miss Brett resented

¹ Horace Walpole: *Reminiscences of the Courts of George I and George II*, p. cxii.

that command, and war was waged between them until the arrival of the news of the King's death, when the mistress disappeared from St. James's—before the fact of her existence and her position had generally become known.¹

By happy chance a pen-portrait exists of George a week before his death. Little Horace Walpole, then a boy of ten, was seized with a desire to see the King, and as he was so delicate that people on seeing him would remark, "That child cannot live," his wishes were commands to his fond mother. Lady Walpole at once took steps to satisfy the caprice, and entreated the Duchess of Kendal to obtain the King's consent to allow Horace to kiss his hand. Such a request was unusual in the case of a mere lad, but as that lad was the son of the Prime Minister, his Majesty raised no objection, only declaring that it must

¹ "Her marriage, ten years after her royal lover's death, is thus announced in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1737 :—'Sept. 17. Sir Wm. Leman, of Northall, Bart., to Miss Brett, of Bond Street, an heiress'; and again next month: 'Oct. 8. Sir Wm. Leman, of Northall, Bart., to Miss Brett, half-sister to Mr. Savage, son to the late Earl Rivers.' For the difference of date I know not how to account, but the second insertion was no doubt made by Savage to countenance his own pretensions."—Croker, note in *Boswell's Life of Dr. Johnson*, ed. 1847, p. 53.

[The ceremony was performed by a Fleet parson. Sir William died December 22, 1741.]

not be made a precedent, and therefore the interview must be in private and at night. Accordingly on the night but one before George's departure for Hanover, Lady Walpole took him to the apartments of Lady Walsingham in St. James's Palace, and that lady took him to the King, who was with the Duchess of Kendal. "I knelt down and kissed his hand. He said a few words to me, and my conductress led me back to my mother," Horace Walpole recalled the incident, after an interval of half-a-century. "The person of the King is as perfect in my memory as if I saw him but yesterday. It was that of an elderly man, rather pale, and exactly like his pictures on coins; not tall; of an aspect rather good than august; with a dark tie-wig, a plain coat, waistcoat, and breeches of snuff-coloured cloth, with stockings of the same colour, and a blue riband over all. So entirely was he my object that I do not believe I once looked at the Duchess; but as I could not avoid seeing her on entering the room, I remember that just beyond his Majesty stood a very tall, lean, ill-favoured old lady; but I did not retain the least idea of her features, nor know of what colour her dress was."¹

¹ *Reminiscences of the Courts of George I and George II*, p. xcix-c.

"I do remember something of George the First. My father

On June 14, 1727, George, with the Duchess of Kendal, and accompanied by some members of his suite, sailed from Greenwich, and on the next day reached Holland. On the 19th, the party arrived at Delden, and the King, who was apparently in perfect health, drove to the neighbouring seat of Count von Twittel to supper, where he partook very freely of fruit—melons, say Coxe and Vehse; strawberries and oranges, says Malortie. He returned the same night to Delden, and retired to rest; but the following morning when his chamberlain, Fabrice,¹ complained of a sleepless night, "I, too, slept badly,"

took me to St. James's when I was a very little boy; after waiting some time in an ante-room, a gentleman came in all dressed in brown, even his stockings; and with a ribbon and star. He took me up in his arms, kissed me, and chatted some time."—*Walpoliana*, Vol. I, p. 25.

César de Saussure, who saw George in 1725, has also recorded his impression: The King is about sixty-five years of age; he is short of stature and very corpulent, tho' not hindered in his movements by his size; his cheeks are pendent, and his eyes are too big; he looks kind and amiable."—*A Foreign View of the Courts of George I and George II*, p. 45.

¹ John Lewis von Fabrice, Hanoverian Privy-Councillor, was the King's confidential private secretary, and is said to have been at this time as influential as ever Bernstorff was. He was, at different periods, ambassador to the Danish, Polish, and Russian Courts; and he died in 1732 or 1733, at the age of fifty-five."—See Vehse: *Geschichte der Höfe des Hauses Braunschweig*.

he said, "I had an attack of indigestion, but I am better now."

Leaving the Duchess of Kendal at Delden, George, at seven o'clock in the morning, set out to drive to Osnabrück to visit his brother, Ernest Augustus. After an hour, he stopped the coach and walked for a while with Fabrice and Privy-Councillor von Hardenburg, the other occupants of his carriage. No sooner did he reseal himself than his right hand was affected with a tremulous movement, and when one of his companions asked if he had knocked it as he entered the coach, he said no. At Bentheim he was very unwell, and soon after, moaning "*C'est fait de moi*" ("It is all over with me"), he fell back, his hand dropping powerless by his side, his tongue hanging out of his mouth. Dr. Ahlers was summoned from one of the other coaches, and took ten ounces of blood from him; after which operation, the King indicated by a nod and a movement of his left hand, that it was his desire to proceed to Osnabrück. He arrived at his destination at ten o'clock at night, and was at once placed, dressed as he was, on a bed; but he was barely, if at all, conscious. Soon he fell into a sound sleep, from which he never awoke, and he passed away at forty minutes after midnight on June 22, in the sixty-eighth year of his life,

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and the thirteenth of his reign over England. His remains were conveyed to Hanover, and there on September 8, interred in state.¹

The immediate cause of the King's death was paralysis, and at the time more than one legend was circulated to account for the attack. According to Walpole, a French prophetess had long ago before warned George to take great care of Sophia Dorothea, as he would not survive her a year ; and the chronicler mentions the prevalent belief that the oracle was inspired to make this statement by the Duke and Duchess of Celle, who feared that the Duchess of Kendal might be tempted to "remove entirely the obstacle to her conscientious union with their son-in-law." "Most Germans are superstitious, even such as have few other impressions of religion," Walpole concludes, "George gave such credit to the denunciation that on the eve of his last departure he took leave of his son and the Princess of Wales with tears,

¹ Most English writers, including Jesse and Coxe, have accepted Horace Walpole's account that when the coach drove into the courtyard of the palace of the Bishop of Osnabrück its royal occupant was dead in his seat ; but this is directly contradicted by the narrative of Malortie, the official chronicler (*Beiträge zur Geschichte des Braunschweig-Lüneburgischen Hauses und Hofes*, Vol. I, pp. 139-151). The present writer follows the last authority, and, in some minor details, Vehse (*Geschichte der Höfe des Hauses Braunschweig*).

telling them he should never see them more. It was certainly his own approaching fate that melted him, not the thought of quitting for ever two persons that he had hated."¹ But this story does not merit credence, at least so far as concerns the intervention of the Duke and Duchess of Celle, for, though Walpole did not know it, George had divorced his consort, and there was nothing whatever, so far as she was concerned, to prevent his marrying again.

More worthy of belief is the story that Sophia, on her death-bed, wrote a letter to her erstwhile husband upbraiding him for the years of imprisonment she had suffered, and summoning him to appear with her at the seat of Judgment within a year and a day. This letter, it is said, was entrusted by her to a faithful servant with the injunction to deliver it to the King when next he came to Germany, and was presented to his Majesty as he drove from Delden.² The agitation he experienced on seeing his consort's handwriting after she had been in her grave for months, and the contents of the letter, is supposed by those who credit the tale, to have caused the shock that

¹ *Reminiscences of the Courts of George I and George II*, p. cix.

² Lockhart has stated that this letter was shown him by Count Welling, Governor of Luxemburg.

resulted in his death. Since, however, George was in his sixty-eighth year, and four years earlier at Charlotteburg he had had a threatening of apoplexy, it is unnecessary to seek for extraneous reasons for his demise.

APPENDIX A

JOHN TOLAND'S ACCOUNT OF THE COURT OF HANOVER

SENT FROM BERLIN TO THE HAGUE

"September 23rd (N.S.), 1702.

"SIR,

"Since you are pleased to say that my relation of this Court was not unacceptable to you, I take the greater courage to send the Account you desire of the Court of Hanover, tho' I cannot but be sensibly concerned, and in some confusion, when I appear in this manner before a person that's accustomed to receive dispatches from abler hands. In my way from Holland to that place a year ago, there occur'd nothing remarkable, but between this City and Hanover I was much affected with a very mournful spectacle ; for, if we cannot help being touch'd at the sight of a skeleton or dead carcase, how much more must we be moved at the ruins of a populous, large, and free city ? Brunswick, you know, not many years ago, was one of the Imperial or Hans-Towns. During the time it contained a Republic it flourished exceedingly, drove a mighty

trade, and had a bank of sufficient credit. But the Dukes of Brunswick, reviewing their pretensions upon it, which it seems were very just, they took it in a few days, having borrow'd first all the powder in the town for another pretended expedition, whence a Brunswicker became a name of reproach in the other Imperial city (*sic*). Immediately all the wealthy merchants transported themselves, and what they could of their effects, to Hamburg, Amsterdam, and other trading towns; the bank was abolished in an instant, never to be revived (for 'tis a sort of plant that cannot live an hour in arbitrary ground), and all things went back to rack and desolation. The Dukes of Wolfenbüttel do now possess the same extent of walls, and possibly the same number of streets, but not a twentieth part of the inhabitants, and I may say not a hundredth part of the wealth. A vast many houses are without any dwellers at all, and others, that belong to rich merchants have some poor devils living in the ground floors, while stately apartments, with spacious courts, warehouses, and other offices, stand empty, or are fill'd with hops, or corn, or straw, or something of that kind. There are very few substantial men left, and very little business; but least of all in their Annual Fairs, which are still kept up, and serve for merry meetings of the

neighbouring Princes and Nobility. The city is divided into five Wards, each of which had its proper Hall, besides the common Town-House. Now, one of those public buildings is turned into a flesh-market, another I saw fill'd with hops, which is a great commodity here by reason of their number, and the chief of all is most naturally transformed into an Opera-house : for when a free city falls under the dominion of an arbitrary Prince, the likeliest use for its Guildhall is to become either a Playhouse or a Court of Guard. I din'd there with some officers, and ask'd them the reason, as a stranger, how that Town, which appear'd to have once made a nobler figure, fell in so small time to decay. One of 'em told me the citizens were a pack of rogues that deserved no better, and that they were never good subjects till they were made poor ; which is, as I understand it, that formerly they were willing to keep their own, but that now they had nothing to strive for. Another in the company, who had some employment, and pretended to politics, said that it was very true they were downright cheats, for that when the town was taken, there was little money found in their Bank (a woful disappointment!) so that they dealt upon imaginary credit. I answered, that when they understood the designs against them,

they might probably convey the money to other places, or granting their effects were not answerable to their credit, that this was common to them with most others, it being never supposed that all who deal with any will make their demands at once. This I cou'd never make him conceive, and when he told me that the Prince gave them time to satisfy their creditors, but that they cou'd never hitherto do it, I answer'd him that it was then too late, since their union subsisted no longer, however they might still bear the same name, nor did I question but in this dispersion, where every man shifted for himself, there was fraud enough practis'd, tho' as a public body they might all be very honest: for such is the nature of mankind, who are much beholding to equal laws and prudent regulations.

“ 2. It is surprising, Sir, to consider how little Trade is understood in most parts of Germany, and how few in the service of princes are masters of political arithmetic. A very few there are indeed that have any tolerable skill in figures or calculations, which proves a notable injury to the Exchequer, and generally occasions the Prince to be the dupe of all undertakers and framers of any public dutys, and to be impos'd upon in Treatys with foreign States. But I beg your pardon for this digression, occasioned by my conversation in Brunswick.

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Last year I spent five or six weeks in Hanover, when the Earl of Macclesfield came there from the King of England with the Act of Succession pass'd in our Parliament the preceding winter, and whereby in default of issue of the Queen's body, the Princess Sophia, and her descendants being Protestants are to succeed to the Imperial Crowns of England, France and Ireland. I had then all imaginable opportunitys to make observations on the Court, and to understand the characters of persons. But as for the Elector's country, I have seen little of it, besides Hanover itself; tho' you may perceive by the ways that it is of a considerable extent, which will yet be greatly augmented when the Duchy of Celle is united to it after the present Duke's decease, who is very old. All in office under the Duke have already sworn conditional allegiance to the Elector, nor is there anything of moment transacted there without his privity and consent. He and the Duke have the same public ministers in foreign courts, which shows them to be in the same secret or interest: and in a word, all things are so well adjusted, that there can be no impediments to the peaceable enjoyment of that succession, how industriously so ever some, who are not well-wishers to that Family, have been laboring (as they still continue) to make it a

subject of contest and division. Another argument of the goodness of the Elector's dominions is the greatness of his Revenue, which is about 300,000 Pounds Sterling, without reckoning the addition that will be made by the Duchy of Celle. We may judge likewise by the quota of Troops he furnishes to the Empire, those he lets out to the Allies, and those he keeps on foot at home, the number of all which you know already, and that his Highness draws a mighty profit from his Silver Mines in the Hartz or part of the Hercynian Forest, at the foot of the high mountain Melibocus, call'd at present Bokkenberg, mentioned by Ptolemy, and was the Country of the German Hero, Arminius or Harman, and lastly 'tis no small benefit to that Family, that the Bishopric of Osnabrück falling by turns to Protestants and Papists, the Bishops of the latter persuasion may be chosen without restriction among all the qualify'd persons of his Communion, whereas in the Protestant turn it must be always one of the House of Hanover. This makes them with very good reason look upon that city and Bishopric as part of their territorys, and therefore they are more careful of it, and less exacting on the subjects, than where clergymen possess only for their lives, and are willing to make the best of the present without any regard to the

good of their successors. By the way, their relations to this Bishopric has been made the ground of a base calumny, by some of their ill-wishers in England ; and 'tis mention'd in many of their pamphlets, as if they were so indifferent in points of Religion, as generally to breed up one of their sons as a Papist in order to qualify him for Bishop of Osnabrück : and people not knowing but the Bishop of Osnabrück is always a Papist, because at present he is so, being the Duke of Lorraine's Brother, and hearing likewise that several of the House of Hanover have been actually Bishops there ; they too easily suffer themselves to be abus'd by the falsest fact in the world.

"3. Hanover is situated in a sandy soil upon the River Leine, which is navigable only by small boats. It is regularly fortify'd, and divided into the new and old towns, which is always a sign of a thriving place. The apartments of the Palace are very fine, and richly furnished. It was in old time a large Monastery, metamorphosed since, that no footsteps remain of the original. There is a pretty Theatre with handsome Lodges for all qualitys ; for nobody pays money that goes to a play there, the Prince, as in some other Courts of Germany, being at all the expence to entertain the Town as well as the Court. But the opera-house in the Castle is visited as a rarity by all

travellers, as being the best painted and the best contriv'd in all Europe. The Elector's Chapel is also finely painted and certainly nothing can be in greater order and method than whatever belongs to his Highness, as I shall tell you more particularly by and by. The Court in general is extremely polite, and even in Germany it is accounted the best, both for civility and decorum. The vice of drinking (for which that nation is so much branded) is so far from reigning here, that tho' nobody is abridg'd of his pleasure in this respect, yet I never knew greater sobriety, nor a more exact government in a private family. It is not for me to pretend to judge of their entertainments. Strangers of figure or quality are commonly invited to the Elector's table, where they are amazed to find such easy conversation, and to be allow'd a liberty that nobody who deserves it will abuse. At Court hours all people of fashion meet there without any manner of constraint; and provided they know what difference to make between men and things (which everybody that comes there is suppos'd to do) they may freely talk of any subject even with the Elector himself. The ladys are perfectly well bred, obliging, and many of 'em handsome. Madame de Kielmansegg, Daughter to the Count of Platen, may pass for a woman of sense and

wit, and her Sister-in-law, the young Countess of Platen, may pass for a beauty, in any Court whatsoever. The Electress's Maids of Honor are worthy of the rank they enjoy, especially Mademoiselle Schulenburg, who in the opinion of others as well as mine, is a lady of extraordinary merit. All the gentlemen that belong to their Highnesses are, as far as ever I could judge, persons of worth and ability. I need not inform you that the Count of Platen is first Minister, and that the Baron de Görtz is not better known to you for an able Statesman, than he is to me for a man of excellent parts and great generosity. The Chancellor, Monsieur Hugo, is a man of good learning, and bears much such a character there for a most capable, intrepid and uncorrupted Judge, as my Lord Chief Justice Holt does in England. That they want not men of letters, I need but name Monsieur Leibnitz for an example, who is here a Privy Councillor and an Assistant in the Court of Chancery, but better known in the Commonwealth of Learning by his Discovery in the Mathematics, and by his *Codex Diplomaticus*, which shows that he's equal to the task he has undertaken: I mean of writing the History of the most Serene House of Brunswick and Lüneburg. I cannot agree to his metaphysical notions, but possibly my own apprehension may be in fault; and if I name no other

persons on this occasion, 'tis not that they are unworthy of our notice, but that I had not your commands for doing it. Only I shall be a very ill judge as well as very ungrateful, if I made no mention of the Baron de Braun, one of the Electress Dowager's gentlemen, a Saxon by birth, a man of good learning and better judgment : he's truly faithful to the interests of his Mistress, a lover of the English nation, and one of the most observing, tho' not the most talkative, of the Court.

"4. The National Religion of the Elector's Dominions is the Lutheran, tho' the Calvinists and all other persuasions are perfectly easy, and enjoy a complete Liberty of Conscience ; Favour and preferments being conferred indifferently on all good Protestants. The Electress has built a pretty church in the new town for the French Refugees, and our late King was a liberal benefactor to it. Tho' her Royal Highness be a Calvinist, and might choose to have none but such about her person, yet most of her women and other immediate servants are Lutheran ; as the Elector, who is of this last persuasion, has many Calvinists belonging to him : and both their Highnesses, to show a good example, and their unfeign'd charity in these lesser differences, do often go to church together ; neither was any of

their followers ever known to scruple accompanying 'em to either place, nor is there any manner of dispute or dislike among them on this account. I beg your pardon, Sir, for using the words Calvinist and Lutheran, as if the authority of Martin Luther or John Calvin were the ground of any man's religion. The language of Germany is evangelic and reform'd, but I adapt my expressions to the dialect of other places. Since the Reformation no public body of men have manifested a greater degree of moderation than the Clergy of this country, as being seconded and influenc'd by the best and wisest race of Princes that have been known to reign anywhere, which is no more than I often heard their enemies allow. The celebrated Calixtus, who endeavour'd so much the union of both the Partys, was a professor in the University of Helmstadt, belonging to the House of Brunswick : and most of the Clergy are Syncretists, as they call those who admit both to the Communion. The Protestant Abbot (or rather Warden of a College) Molanus, has often assur'd me, that he would readily communicate with the Church of England, with whose service he is well acquainted. He is a man of no mean Literature, a curious collector of natural rarities, and he has besides many antient the best collection that can be seen of modern medals,

consisting of entire sets of most princely Houses in Europe, and the greatest part of them gold and silver, which amounts to a mighty sum. Both Princes and people cannot forbear admiring how we in England can keep up our divisions about matters of much less importance, or that we cannot differ without so much rancour and virulence as we commonly show in words and actions against one another. The Lutherans of Saxony, of Denmark, Sweden, and some other places, are of quite another spirit, and more rigid, if possible, than the Papists themselves, whereof I shall give you the true reasons another time. The Clergy seldom appear at Court either at Hanover or Berlin ; and it would be no less scandalous for their characters to be seen soliciting there for preferments, than if, in your country, they went to taverns or coffee-houses, which is as great a disgrace as it is in England they frequented the theatre or other houses of worse fame.

“5. You may be sure, Sir, that the Earl of Macclesfield’s reception at the Court of Hanover was extraordinary magnificent, and that a person who came on his errand must needs be very welcome. You desire an account of it, and this I take to be a proper place. He bore no particular character, but was sent by the King with the Act of Succession, both to grace it with a man of

that quality, and as his father bore a relation to the Queen of Bohemia's Court, as well as for being one of the heartiest persons alive for the thing he went about. And in justice to his memory I am oblig'd to tell you that notwithstanding he was ordinarily a man of little ceremony among his friends, yet that none could behave himself more handsomly on this occasion, that none cou'd do greater honor to his king and country in executing his commission, and that he so well approv'd himself in all respects to their Highnesses and the whole Court, that they exceeded in esteem for his person what they ow'd to the Minister of a Prince they had in so high a veneration, and to whom they were, and thought themselves so signally oblig'd. He was receiv'd by Deputys of the best quality on the frontiers of the country, and his expenses were defray'd on the road with all his retinue, till he arriv'd at Hanover. There one of the largest houses in the whole city was assigned for his entertainment, and to lodge as many of the gentlemen that had accompany'd him as he wou'd please to have near him, the rest being dispos'd into other houses of the neighbourhood at the Elector's charge. During all the time of his stay, not only between thirty and forty gentlemen who came along with him, but likewise all Englishmen that pass'd that way,

were treated on free cost. It was a continued feasting, and I do not exceed when I say that the two great tables kept in this English hotel were as plentifully and as sumptuously furnish'd the last day as the first. All the servants had half-a-crown a day given 'em in good silver pieces to provide for themselves ; for they would not disgrace 'em, it seems, with their master's broken meat, nor be at the trouble to dress for them in particular. The citizens had orders, which they observ'd, not to take anything for meat and drink of any Englishman, if his humour shou'd lead him to desire it. The Elector's own servants waited on them every morning with silver coffee and tea-pots to their chambers. Burgundy, Champagne, Rhenish, and all manner of wines were as common as beer. A number of coaches and chairs were appointed to bring 'em every day to Court, to carry 'em back to their lodgings, and to go whithersoever else they wou'd. They were entertained with music, balls, and plays ; and every person made it his business to oblige them. There was a very fine ball, and a splendid appearance of ladys, the evening after my Lord delivered the Act of Succession to the Electress. His Lordship did often eat at the Electoral table, and some of the gentlemen were always there in their turns. They were frequently entertain'd

by the Ministers of State ; and if any of 'em (as I know of none) did misbehave himself, it cou'd not well be otherwise among so many young people ; and I defy the like number, unless they shou'd be pick'd on purpose, to carry themselves more decently. Most of 'em met together by chance in Holland, and the half of them did not come in his Lordship's train out of England.

"6. After some days he went to Celle to wait on the Duke, and from thence took a turn to Hamburg, where he was treated and made free by the English company. He soon returned again to Hanover, and when the time was come for his departure, he was presented by Her Royal Highness with her own picture set in diamonds, the Electoral Crown of the same materials over it to the value of several thousand pounds. The Elector's present was a huge basin and ewer of massive gold to a very considerable value ; and the Duke of Celle gave him a great many gold medals, to dispose of at his pleasure. Mr. King, the Herald, who brought the Garter to his Electoral Highness, tho' his Lordship perform'd the ceremony, was nobly presented. A present was likewise given to the Reverend Doctor Sandys, his Lordship's Chaplain, who had the honor to preach, and read the Common Prayers of the

Church of England before the Electress in her Anti-Chamber. She made the responses, and perform'd the ceremony as punctually as if she had bin used to it all her life, for she ever had our Liturgy by her, tho' I believe this was the first time that it was publicly read at Hanover, for which reason many assisted there who understood not a tittle of it. Her Royal Highness approves it highly, tho' she has not set it up in her own Chapel (as some uneasy spirits would have her) lest she shou'd seem to intimate, as she said, that she was before of a different Religion, when 'tis but the National Establishment of England. A present was also given to Mr. Williams, his Lordship's Secretary ; and what marks of favor their Highnesses were pleas'd to confer on myself, I pretend not to have deserved by any services I could render their family, nor on any personal account. The present was partly in Gold Medals ; but what I much esteem, and will always preserve, is the Queen of Prussia, the Electress, the Elector, and the young Prince's pictures done in oil colours, and very like. My Lord Viscount Sey and Sele, my Lord Mohun, and my Lord Tunbridge, were treated as became their quality, and with particular kindness and confidence, as persons that were sincerely devoted to the Family : and because when my Lord Mohun was very young,

and not able to distinguish his Company, he had the misfortune to commit some excesses, I am glad to be able to tell you, Sir, of my own knowledge, that none of the company was more generally acceptable, that none lived with greater sobriety, nor delivered himself on all occasions with better judgment or in politer language; and he still continues to convince the world of his reformation, as he is like to prove an ornament to the upper House of Parliament. Captain Tyrrell, Mr. Godfrey, and Sir Andrew Fountain were distinguished by the Electress, and I am confident everybody must needs have gone away perfectly satisfied with their reception, and with all the people of the place; for they had many opportunities of getting good acquaintance, by reason that some of the best Fashion always din'd with my Lord. You were at Loo, I remember, when he returned, and gave an account of his negotiations with the King, who was wonderfully pleas'd with the success of his own work. There he presented me to kiss his Majesty's hand, and took off those impressions which might have bin made upon him, by some of them who endeavor'd to prepossess him against those that were the most zealous for his service, and the most faithful to his interests. My Lord himself went with a prejudice against me to Hanover,

where he was throlly undeceived, and became my hearty patron, till just on his going home he was remov'd by death from the service of his country and his friends.

"7. Having thus describ'd my Lord Macclesfield's reception, I come now to what you gave me most in charge, the characters of the chiefest persons of the Electoral Family, wherein I shall be very fair and exact. I need not tell you what everybody knows, that the Electress Dowager, the Princess Sophia, is daughter to the unfortunate King of Bohemia by the Princess Elizabeth, only daughter to our King James the First : and had this last asserted the cause of his Son-in-Law with true vigor and heartiness that the nation press'd him to do, and not so unpolitically or rather unnaturally abandoned him, out of his desire of the Spanish Match, or from some worse designs, his posterity had in all probability reigned to this day on the throne of Bohemia. The Electress is three-and-seventy years of age, which she bears so wonderfully well, that had I not many vouchers, I should scarce dare venture to relate it. She has ever enjoyed extraordinary health, which keeps her still very vigorous, of a cheerful countenance, and a merry disposition. She steps as firm and erect as any young lady, has not one wrinkle in her face, which

is still very agreeable, nor one tooth out of her head, and reads without spectacles, as I often see her do, letters of a small character in the dusk of the evening. She's as great a worker as our late Queen, and you cannot turn yourself in the Palace without meeting some monuments of her industry, all the chairs of the Presence Chamber being wrought with her own hands. The ornaments of the Altar in the Electoral Chapel are all of her work. She bestow'd the same favour on the Protestant Abbey or College of Lockum, with a thousand other instances fitter for your lady to know than for yourself. She's the most constant and greatest walker I ever knew, never missing a day, if it proves fair, for one or two hours, and often more, in the fine garden of Herrenhausen, of which I shall speak before I have finished. She perfectly tires all those of her Court that attend her in that exercise, but such as have the honor to be entertained by her in discourse. She has been long admir'd by all the learned world, as a woman of incomparable knowledge in Divinity, Philosophy, History, and the subjects of all sorts of books, of which she has read a prodigious quantity. She speaks five languages so well, that by her accent it might be a dispute which of 'em was her first. They are Low-Dutch, German, French, Italian, and English,

which last she speaks as truly and easily as any native ; which to me is a matter of amazement whatever advantages she might have in her youth by the conversation of her mother : for tho' the late King's mother was likewise an English woman, of the same Royal Family, tho' he had bin more than once in England before the Revolution, tho' he was married there, and his Court continually full of many of that Nation, yet he could never conquer his foren accent. But indeed the Electress is so entirely English in her person, in her behaviour, in her humour, and all her inclinations, that naturally she cou'd not miss of anything which peculiarly belongs to our Island. She was ever glad to see Englishmen, long before the Act of Succession. She professes to admire our form of government, and understands it mighty well ; yet she asks so many questions about families, customs, laws and the like, as sufficiently demonstrate her profound wisdom and experience. She has a due veneration (as I told you before) for the Church of England, without losing affection or charity for any other sort of Protestants ; and appears charm'd with the moderate temper of our present Bishops and others of our learned Clergy, especially for their approbation of the Liberty establish'd by Law to Protestant Dissenters.

She's ador'd for her goodness among the inhabitants of the country, and gains the hearts of all strangers by her unparallel'd affability. No distinction is ever made in her Court concerning the party into which Englishmen are divided, and whereof they carry the effects and impressions with them whithersoever they go, which makes others sometimes uneasy as well as themselves. There it is enough that you be an Englishman, nor can you ever discover by your treatment which are better lik'd, the Whigs or the Torys: these are the instructions given to all the servants, and they take care to execute them with the utmost exactness. I was the first who had the honor of kneeling and kissing her hand on account of the Act of Succession ; and she said, among other discourse, that she was afraid the nation had already repented their choice of an old woman, but that she hop'd none of her posterity wou'd give them any reasons to grow weary of their dominion. I answer'd, that the English had too well consider'd what they did to change their minds so soon, and that they still remember'd they were never so happy as when they were last under a woman's government. Since that time, Sir, we have a further confirmation of this truth by the glorious Administration of Queen Anne. The Electress is but lately return'd from this

Court to Hanover ; she still continues in perfect health, and may she do so many years !

“8. The Elector George Lewis was born the 28th of May, N.S., 1660. He’s a proper, middle-siz’d, well-proportion’d man, of a gentile address, and good appearance. He’s not addicted much to any diversions besides hunting ; is reserv’d, and therefore speaks little, but judiciously. He’s not to be exceeded in his zeal against the intended universal Monarchy of France, and so is most hearty for the common cause of Europe, wherein his own is so necessarily involv’d. He understands our Constitution the best of any foreigner I ever knew, and tho’ he be well,vers’d in the art of war, and of invincible courage, having often expos’d his person to great dangers, in Hungary, in the Morea, on the Rhine, and in Flanders (of which you cannot be ignorant), yet he’s naturally of peaceable inclinations, which mixture of qualitys is agreed by the experience of all ages to make the best and most glorious Princes. He’s a perfect man of business, exactly regular in the economy of his revenues, reads all dispatches himself at first hand, writes most of his own letters, and spends a considerable part of his time about such occupations in his closet, and with his Ministers. I hope therefore that none of our countrymen will be so injudicious as to think his reserv’dness

the effect of sullenness or pride, nor mistake that for State which really proceeds from modesty, caution, and deliberation : for he's very affable to such as accost him, and expects that others shou'd speak to him first, which is the best information I cou'd have from all about him, and I partly know to be true by experience. And as to what I said of his frugality in laying out the public money, I need not give a more particular proof, than that all the expenses of his Court (as to eating, drinking, fire, candles, and the like) are duly paid every Saturday night ; the officers of his Army receive their pay every month, as likewise his envoys in every part of Europe ; and all the officers of his Household, with the rest that are on the Civil List are clear'd off every half-year. His administration is most equitable, mild, and prudent. He's the most belov'd by his subjects of any prince in the world. There is no division or faction among them by reason of his impartial favor ; and instead of railing or grumbling against his person, they wou'd never make an end (if you would have patience to listen) of telling storys denoting his justice and moderation, particularly in disputes about the titles of land, or in any other cause depending between him and his subjects. He understands English, and in a little time will speak it readily.

He spends much of his time at Herrenhausen, which is a country-house about an English mile and a half from Hanover. The garden is delicate indeed, the water-works great and noble, the basins and fountains extremely large, the wilderness curiously contriv'd, and deck'd with a perpetual verdure; the walks are made firm enough with a sort of gravel they get out of the river; the Orangery is counted one of the largest in all Europe; there are beautiful cascades, and there is a perfect theatre excellently cut out into green seats, the dressing-rooms for the actors being so many bowers and summer-houses on each side, the whole set off with many fine statues, most of 'em gilt, and an excellent water-work just behind.

"9. The Electoral Prince, George Augustus, was born the 30th of October, N.S., 1683. He gives the greatest hopes of himself that we or any people on earth cou'd desire; and tho' you saw him yourself, yet I shall again revive your memory on so grateful a subject. He has a very winning countenance, is middle-sized like his father, well-made, and of a manly aspect and deportment. He speaks very gracefully, and with the greatest easiness imaginable. His complexion is fair, and his hair of a light brown. He has had very good foundations of learning, as well as his father who speaks Latin fluently, and all due care has been

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taken to furnish him with such other accomplishments as are fit for a Gentleman and a Prince, nor can anyone better perform his exercises. He's for his years a great master of history, and is in this, as in all things else, extraordinarily curious and inquisitive, which is the best and surest foundation of useful knowledge. These acquir'd parts, with a generous disposition and virtuous inclinations, will deservedly render him the darling of our people, and probably grace the English Throne with a most winning Prince. He learns English with inexpressible facility. Hitherto he has been kept wholly free from all vices, and has not only learn'd of his Grandmother to have a real esteem for Englishmen, but he likewise entertains a high notion of the wisdom, goodness and power of the English Government, concerning which I heard him to my great satisfaction ask several pertinent questions, and such as betoken'd no mean or common observation. I was surpriz'd to find he understood so much of our affairs already, but his great vivacity will not let him be ignorant of anything. There's nothing more left to be wish'd, but that he be proof against the temptations which accompany greatness, and defended from the poisonous infection of flatterers, who are the greatest bane of Societys, and commonly occasion the ruin of

Princes, if not in their lives, yet at least in their fame and reputation. I must not omit here to put you in mind with what affection the late King receiv'd the Young Prince at Loo, when the Duke of Celle brought him to wait on his Majesty ; and I particularly remember you us'd to observe with pleasure, that he caress'd him rather with the fondness of a father, than treated him with the respect that was due to a Prince of his rank.

"10. The Elector has no other children but the young Princess Sophia Dorothea, who was born the 16th March, N.S., 1687. You may depend upon it, Sir, that I am not dazl'd by the splendour of her peculiar position, nor biass'd by our ordinary complaisance for the softer sex, when I assure you that she's one of the most lovely and charming young ladys I ever saw. She's admirably well shap'd, tall enough for one of her years, of a sweet and engaging aspect. The colour of her hair is a fine brown, which to a clear complexion (and such is hers) is a very great grace and ornament. But yet nothing can compare with her eyes, of a very lively blue, wherein she exceeds all those of this Court. In the rest of her features (to show that I won't flatter even a Princess) I have seen other beautys who might come in competition with her. And yet, as I told you before, she's really very handsome, and the lineaments of her

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face are duly regular. Her Education is suitable to her Quality, and I need say no more of it, when I say that she's govern'd by the orders, and under the inspection of her most illustrious Grandmother, example alone is the best pattern which any woman can imitate or propose. She's very happy in the endowments of her mind, tho' perhaps you'll say that it's a matter which does not much concern us ; yet, doubtless you'd retract such a notion, when you consider'd that if the Prince die without children (which God forbid) she's to succeed to the Crown of England preferably to her Uncles and all the rest of her family. But to do justice to everybody, in minding her discourse with others, and by what she was pleas'd to say to myself, she appears to have a more than ordinary share of good sense and wit. The whole Town and Court commend the easiness of her manners, and the evenness of her disposition ; but above all her other qualitys they highly extol her good humour, which is the most valuable endowment of either sex, and the foundation of most other virtues. Upon the whole, considering her personal merit, and the dignity of her family, I heartily wish and hope to see her one day Queen of Sweden.

“11. The Elector's next brother, Prince Maximilian William, was born the 13th of December, N.S., 1666. I never saw him, he being a general

officer under the Emperor ; so is likewise Prince Christian, who was born the 19th of September, N.S., 1671. The youngest of all, Prince Ernest Augustus (call'd after his father) was born the 7th of September, N.S., 1674. He makes the present campaign under his Grace the Duke of Marlborough, and is a Prince of a mild temper, with very commendable dispositions. There were two brothers more kill'd in Hungary, whose ages and names it does not import you to know. And now, Sir, I have given you the truest and most exact account of this Family that was possible for me but without any disguise or partiality, according to my own inclinations, and in obedience to your desires. I well know the affection you bear their Highnesses, not out of any personal regards or expectations (above which your fortune has placed you) but as to Princes that have always govern'd in their own country for the good of their people, and that are in time like to be more nearly concern'd with your provinces, as well as in a better condition to maintain the Protestant Religion, and to defend the liberty of Europe. From these considerations I promise myself that you'll be pleased with my relation, and forgive those imperfections which the little time you allow'd wou'd not permit me to supply. And upon the whole, if you

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find that I am less addicted to censure than to praise (contrary to the custom of the malicious and designing world) you are not to think for all this that I pretend to more good nature than other people, but that I really found less matter to blame: for as to any minute circumstances, or the common imbecilitys of human nature (from which you are not to imagine the persons of this family peculiarly exemted), these are things to be suppos'd in our ordinary discourses of all men, but are not worth relating, when they have no influence on their public actions, and that they are fully aton'd and eclips'd by their numerous virtues. Were it true (as you know it to be most false) that I was banish'd from the Court, and from this where I have the honor now to reside, which some people report in England at this very time, yet in strict justice I could give no other account, than what hereby I send you. Let me add that (contrary to the wicked aspersions and fond wishes of the same tribe) there is no manner of misunderstanding between our most gracious Queen Anne and that Court, where I dare be bold to affirm that more respect is paid to her person, and more justice done to her merit, than at home in her own kingdoms: for there 'tis notorious that several question her title, who also reflect on her administration; whereas here the right of the

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first is readily admitted, and the wisdom of the last is highly applauded by all without exception, but by none so much as those who are the best able to judge in such cases, and who so far look on her Majesty as the unchangeable Friend and Benefactress of their House, that they absolutely resign the whole care of their interest to her management, and never in the least intermeddle (as other design'd successors have done) in the domestic affairs, or Partys or Parliaments of England, tho' nothing transacted there escapes their cognisance or information. 'Tis impossible for me to express in how high degrees of respect and veneration the memory of King William (the Restorer of the English and the Supporter of the European Liberty) is held in the Court of Hanover ; but besides the particular gratitude they owe him in that place, there is likewise such an admiration paid to his heroic qualitys (as there was an entire deference given to his judgement when alive) all over Germany, that I'll say no more of it, either as a fact in itself remarkable, or to you unknown I have made no mention of certain other things you desir'd, sufficient amends will be made for those omissions hereafter. In the meantime I am, Sir,

“ Your most obliged

“ and most humble servant,

“ TOLAND.”

APPENDIX B

ACCOUNT OF THE COURT OF GEORGE I

AT HIS ACCESSION

BY LADY MARY WORTLEY MONTAGU

"I WAS then in Yorkshire; Mr. Wortley had stayed in town on account of some business, and the Queen's death detained him there. Lord Halifax, his near relation, was put at the head of the Treasury; and, willing to have the rest of the commissioners such as he thought he could depend upon, he named him for one of them. It will be surprising to add that he hesitated to accept it, at a time when his father was alive and his present income very small: but he had certainly refused it if he had not been persuaded to it by a rich old uncle of mine, Lord Pierrepont, whose fondness for me gave him expectations of a large legacy.

"The new Court with all their train was arrived before I left the country. The Duke of Marlborough was returned in a sort of triumph, with the apparent merit of having suffered for his fidelity in the succession, and was reinstated in his office of general, &c. In short, all people who had suffered any hardship or disgrace during the

late ministry would have it believed that it was occasioned by their attachment to the House of Hanover. Even Mr. Walpole, who had been sent to the Tower for a piece of bribery proved upon him, was called a confessor to the cause. But he had another piece of good luck that yet more contributed to his advancement ; he had a very handsome sister, whose folly had lost her reputation in London ; but the yet greater folly of Lord Townshend, who happened to be a neighbour in Norfolk to Mr. Walpole, had occasioned his being drawn in to marry her some months before the Queen died.

“Lord Townshend had that sort of understanding which commonly makes men honest in the first part of their lives ; they follow the instruction of their tutor, and, till somebody thinks it worth while to show them a new path, go regularly on in the road where they are set. Lord Townshend had then been many years an excellent husband to a sober wife, a kind master to all his servants and dependants, a serviceable relation whenever it was in his power, and followed the instinct of nature in being fond of his children. Such a sort of behaviour without any glaring absurdity, either in prodigality or avarice, always gains a man the reputation of reasonable and honest ; and this was his character when the Earl of

Godolphin sent him envoy to the States ; not doubting but he would be faithful to his orders, without giving himself the trouble of criticizing on them, which is what all ministers wish in an envoy. Robethon, a French refugee (secretary to Bernstorff, one of the Elector of Hanover's ministers), happened to be at the Hague, and was civilly received by Lord Townshend, who treated him at his table with the English hospitality ; and he was charmed with a reception which his birth and education did not entitle him to. Lord Townshend was recalled when the Queen changed her ministry ; his wife died, and he retired into the country, where (as I have said before) Walpole had art enough to make him marry his sister Dolly. At that time, I believe, he did not propose much more advantage by the match than to get rid of a girl that lay heavy on his hands.

"When King George ascended the throne, he was surrounded by all his German ministers and playfellows, male and female. Baron Görtz was the most considerable among them both for birth and fortune. He had managed the King's treasury, for thirty years, with the utmost fidelity and economy ; and had the true German honesty, being a plain, sincere, and unambitious man. Bernstorff, the Secretary, was of a different turn.

He was avaricious, artful, and designing ; and had got his share in the King's councils by bribing his women. Robethon was employed in these matters, and had the sanguine ambition of a Frenchman. He resolved there should be an English ministry of his choosing ; and, knowing none of them personally but Townshend, he had not failed to recommend him to his master, and his master to the King, as the only proper person for the important post of Secretary of State ; and he entered upon that office with universal applause, having at that time a very popular character, which he might probably have retained for ever if he had not been entirely governed by his wife and her brother Robert Walpole, whom he immediately advanced to be Paymaster, esteemed a post of exceeding profit, and very necessary for his indebted estate.

“ But he had yet higher views, or rather he found it necessary to move higher, lest he should not be able to keep that. The Earl of Wharton, now Marquis, both hated and despised him. His large estate, the whole income of which was spent in the service of the party, and his own parts, made him considerable ; though his profligate life lessened that weight that a more regular conduct would have given him.

“ Lord Halifax, who was now advanced to the

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dignity of Earl, and graced with the Garter, and First Commissioner of the Treasury, treated him with contempt. The Earl of Nottingham, who had the real merit of having renounced the ministry in Queen Anne's reign, when he thought they were going to alter the succession, was not to be reconciled to Walpole, whom he looked upon as stigmatized for corruption.

"The Duke of Marlborough, who in his old age was making the same figure at court that he did when he first came into it,—I mean, bowing and smiling in the antechamber while Townshend was in the closet,—was not, however, pleased with Walpole, who began to behave to him with the insolence of new favour ; and his Duchess, who never restrained her tongue in her life, used to make public jokes of the beggary she first knew him in, when her caprice gave him a considerable place, against the opinion of Lord Godolphin and the Duke of Marlborough.

"To balance these, he had introduced some friends of his own, by his recommendation to Lord Townshend (who did nothing but by his instigation). Colonel Stanhope was made the Secretary of State. He had been unfortunate in Spain, and there did not want those who attributed it to ill conduct ; but he was called generous, brave, true to his friends, and had an

air of probity which prejudiced the world in his favour.

“The King’s character may be comprised in very few words. In private life he would have been called an honest blockhead ; and Fortune, that made him a king, added nothing to his happiness, only prejudiced his honesty, and shortened his days. No man was ever more free from ambition ; he loved money, but loved to keep his own, without being rapacious of other men’s. He would have grown rich by saving, but was incapable of laying schemes for getting ; he was more properly dull than lazy, and would have been so well contented to have remained in his little town of Hanover, that if the ambition of those about him had not been greater than his own, we should never have seen him in England ; and the natural honesty of his temper, joined with the narrow notions of a low education, made him look upon his acceptance of the crown as an act of usurpation, which was always uneasy to him. But he was carried by the stream of the people about him, in that, as in every action of his life. He could speak no English, and was past the age of learning it. Our customs and laws were all mysteries to him, which he neither tried to understand, nor was capable of understanding if he had endeavoured it. He was passively

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good-natured, and wished all mankind enjoyed quiet, if they would let him do so. The mistress that followed him hither was so much of his own temper, that I do not wonder at the engagement between them. She was duller than himself, and consequently did not find out that he was so; and had lived in that figure at Hanover almost forty years (for she came hither at three score) without meddling in any affairs of the electorate; content with the small pension he allowed her, and the honour of his visits when he had nothing else to do, which happened very often. She even refused coming hither at first, fearing that the people of England, who, she thought, were accustomed to use their kings barbarously, might chop off his head in the first fortnight; and had not love or gratitude enough to venture being involved in his ruin. And the poor man was in peril of coming hither without knowing where to pass his evenings; which he was accustomed to do in the apartments of women, free from business. But Madame Kielmansegg saved him from this misfortune. She was told that Mademoiselle Schulenburg scrupled this terrible journey; and took the opportunity of offering her service to his Majesty, who willingly accepted it; though he did not offer to facilitate it to her by the payment of her debts, which made it very difficult

for her to leave Hanover without the permission of her creditors. But she was a woman of wit and spirit, and knew very well of what importance this step was to her fortune. She got out of the town in disguise, and made the best of her way in a post-chaise to Holland, from whence she embarked with the King, and arrived at the same time with him in England; which was enough to make her called his mistress, or at least so great a favourite that the whole court began to pay her uncommon respect.

“This lady deserves I should be a little particular in her character, there being something in it worth speaking of. She was past forty : she had never been a beauty, but certainly very agreeable in her person when adorned with youth ; and had once appeared so charming to the King, that it was said the divorce and ruin of his beautiful Princess, the Duke of Celle’s daughter, was owing to the hopes her mother (who was declared mistress to the King’s father, and all-powerful in his court,) had of setting her daughter in her place ; and that the project did not succeed, by the passion which Madame Kielmansegg took for M. Kielmansegg, who was a son of a merchant of Hamburg, and, after having a child by him, there was nothing left for her but to marry him. Her ambitious mother ran mad with the disappointment, and died in that deplorable manner, leaving

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£40,000 which she had heaped by the favour of the Elector, to this daughter ; which was very easily squandered by one of her temper. She was both luxurious and generous, devoted to her pleasures, and seemed to have taken Lord Rochester's resolution of avoiding all sorts of self-denial. She had a greater vivacity in conversation than ever I knew in a German of either sex. She loved reading, and had a taste of all polite learning. Her humour was easy and sociable. Her constitution inclined her to gallantry. She was well-bred and amusing in company. She knew both how to please and be pleased, and had experience enough to know it was hard to do either without money. Her unlimited expenses had left her with very little remaining, and she made what haste she could to make advantage of the opinion the English had of her power with the King, by receiving the presents that were made her from all quarters ; and which she knew very well must cease when it was known that the King's idleness carried him to her lodgings without either regard for her advice, or affection for her person, which time and very bad paint had left without any of the charms which had once attracted him. His best-beloved mistress remained still at Hanover, which was the beautiful Countess of Platen.

“Perhaps it will be thought a digression in this place to tell the story of his amour with her ; but, as I write only for myself, I shall always think I am at liberty to make what digressions I think fit, proper or improper ; besides that in my opinion nothing can set the King’s character in a clearer light. That lady was married to Madame Kielmansegg’s brother, the most considerable man in Hanover for birth and fortune ; and her beauty was as far beyond that of any of the other women that appeared. However, the King saw her every day without taking notice of it, and contented himself with his habitual commerce with Mademoiselle Schulenburg.

“In those little courts there is no distinction of much value but what arises from the favour of the Prince ; and Madame Platen saw with great indignation that all her charms were passed over unregarded ; and she took a method to get over this misfortune which would never have entered into the head of a woman of sense, and yet which met with wonderful success. She asked an audience of his Highness, who granted it without guessing what she meant by it ; and she told him that as nobody could refuse her the first rank in that place, it was very mortifying to see his Highness not show her any mark of favour ; and, as no person could be more attached to his person

than herself, she begged with tears in her fine eyes that he would alter his behaviour to her. The Elector, very much astonished at this complaint, answered that he did not know any reason he had given her to believe he was wanting in respect for her, and that he thought her not only the greatest lady, but the greatest beauty of the court. 'If that be true, sire,' replied she sobbing, 'why do you pass all your time with Mademoiselle Schulenburg, while I hardly receive the honour of a visit from you?' His Highness promised to mend his manners, and from that time was very assiduous in waiting upon her. This ended in a fondness, which her husband disliked so much that he parted with her; and she had the glory of possessing the heart and person of her master, and to turn the whole stream of courtiers that used to attend Mademoiselle Schulenburg to her side. However, he did not break with his first love, and often went to her apartment to cut paper, which was his chief employment there; which the Countess of Platen easily permitted him, having often occasion for his absence. She was naturally gallant; and, after having thus satisfied her ambition, pursued her warmer inclinations.

"Young Craggs came about this time to Hanover, where his father sent him to take a view of that

court in his tour of travelling. He was in his first bloom of youth and vigour ; and had so strong an appearance of that perfection, that it was called beauty by the generality of women : though in my opinion there was a coarseness in his face and shape that had more the air of a porter than a gentleman ; and, if fortune had not interposed her almighty power, he might by his birth have appeared in that figure ; his father being nothing more considerable at his first appearance in the world than footman to Lady Mary Mordant, the gallant Duchess of Norfolk, who had always half-a-dozen intrigues to manage. Some servant must always be trusted in affairs of that kind, and James Craggs had the good fortune to be chosen for that purpose. She found him both faithful and discreet, and he was soon advanced to the dignity of *valet-de-chambre*.

“King James II had an amour with her after he was upon the throne, and respected the Queen enough to endeavour to keep it entirely from her knowledge. James Craggs was the messenger between the King and the Duchess, and did not fail to make the best use of so important a trust. He scraped a great deal of money from the bounty of this royal lover, and was too inconsiderable to be hurt by his ruin ; and did not concern himself much for that of his mistress, which by lower

intrigues happened soon after. This fellow, from the report of all parties, and even from that of his professed enemies, had a very uncommon genius ; a head well turned for calculation ; great industry ; and [was] so just an observer of the world, that the meanness of his education never appeared in his conversation.

“The Duke of Marlborough, who was sensible how well he was qualified for affairs that required secrecy, employed him as his procurer both for women and money ; and he acquitted himself so well of these trusts as to please his master, and yet raise a considerable fortune, by turning his money in the public funds, the secret of which came often to his knowledge by the Duke’s employing him. He had this only son, whom he looked on with the partiality of a parent ; and resolved to spare nothing in his education that could add to his figure.

“Young Craggs had great vivacity, a happy memory, and flowing elocution ; he was brave and generous ; and had an appearance of open-heartedness in his manner that gained him a universal good-will, if not a universal esteem. It is true there appeared a heat and want of judgment in all his words and actions, which did not make him very valuable in the eyes of cool judges, but Madame Platen was not of that number. His

youth and fire made him appear very well worthy of his passionate addresses. Two people so well disposed towards each other were very soon in the closest engagement; and the first proof Madame Platen gave him of her affection was introducing him to the favour of the Elector, who took it on her word that he was a young man of extraordinary merit, and he named him for Cofferer at his first accession to the Crown of England, and I believe it was the only place that he then disposed of from any inclination of his own. This proof of Madame Platen's favour hindered her coming hither.

"Bernstorff was afraid she might meddle in the distribution of places that he was willing to keep in his own hands; and he represented to the King that the Roman Catholic Religion that she professed was an insuperable objection to her appearance at the Court of England, at least so early; but he gave her private hopes that things might be so managed as to make her admittance easy when the King was settled in his new dominions. And with this hope she consented without much concern to let him go without her; not reflecting that weak minds lose all impressions by even short absences. But as her own understanding did not furnish her with very great refinements, she was troubled with none

of the fears that would have affected a stronger head, and had too good an opinion of her own beauty to believe anything in England could efface it ; while Madame Kielmansegg attached herself to the one thing necessary,—getting what money she could by the sale of places, and the credulity of those who thought themselves very polite in securing her favour.

— “Lord Halifax was one of this number ; his ambition was unbounded, and he aimed at no less than the Treasurer’s staff, and thought himself in a fine road for it by furnishing Madame Kielmansegg both with money and a lover. Mr. Methuen was the man he picked out for that purpose. He was one of the Lords of the Treasury ; he was handsome and well-made ; he had wit enough to be able to affect any part he pleased, and a romantic turn in his conversation that could entertain a lady with as many adventures as Othello,—and it is no ill way of gaining Desdemonas. Women are very apt to take their lovers’ characters from their own mouths ; and if you will believe Mr. Methuen’s account of himself, neither Artamenes nor Oroondates ever had more valour, honour, constancy, and discretion. Half of these bright qualities were enough to charm Madame Kielmansegg ; and they were very soon in the strictest familiarity, which

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continued for different reasons, to the pleasure of both parties, till the arrival of Mademoiselle Schulenburg, which was hastened by the German ministers, who envied the money accumulated by Madame Kielmansegg, which they longed to turn into another channel ; which they thought would be more easily drawn into their own hands. They took care to inform Mademoiselle Schulenburg of the fond reception all the Germans met with in England, and gave her a view of the immense fortune that waited her here. This was enough to cure her fears, and she arrived accompanied by a young niece who had already made some noise at Hanover. She had projected the conquest of the Prince of Wales, and had so far succeeded as to obtain his favours for some months ; but the Princess, who dreaded a rival to her power, soon put an end to the correspondence, and she was no longer possessed of his good graces when he came hither.

"I have not yet given the character of the Prince. The fire of his temper appeared in every look and gesture ; which, being unhappily under the direction of a small understanding, was every day throwing him upon some indiscretion. He was naturally sincere, and his pride told him that he was placed above constraint ; not reflecting that a high rank carries along with it a necessity

of a more decent and regular behaviour than is expected from those who are not set in so conspicuous a light. He was so far from being of that opinion, that he looked on all the men and women he saw as creatures he might kick or kiss for his diversion ; and, whenever he met with any opposition in those designs, he thought his opposers insolent rebels to the will of God, who created them for his use, and judged of the merit of all people by their ready submission to his orders, or the relation they had to his power. And in this view he looked upon the Princess as the most meritorious of her sex ; and she took care to keep him in that sentiment by all the arts she was mistress of. He had married her by inclination ; his good-natured father had been so complaisant as to let him choose a wife for himself. She was of the house of Anspach, and brought him no great addition either of money or alliance ; but was at that time esteemed a German beauty, and had genius which qualified her for the government of a fool, and made her despicable in the eyes of men of sense ; I mean a low cunning, which gave her an inclination to cheat all the people she conversed with, and often cheated herself in the first place, by showing her the wrong side of her interest, not having understanding enough to observe that falsehood

in conversation, like red on the face, should be used very seldom and very sparingly, or they destroy that interest and beauty which they are designed to heighten.

“Her first thought on her marriage was to secure to herself the sole and whole direction of her spouse ; and to that purpose she counterfeited the most extravagant fondness for his person ; yet, at the same time, so devoted to his pleasures, (which she often told him were the rule of all her thoughts and actions,) that whenever he thought proper to find them with other women, she even loved whoever was instrumental to his entertainment, and never resented anything but what appeared to her a want of respect for him ; and in this light she really could not help taking notice that the presents made to her on her wedding were not worthy of his bride, and at least she ought to have had all his mother’s jewels. This was enough to make him lose all respect for his indulgent father. He downright abused his ministers, and talked impertinently to his old grandmother the Princess Sophia ; which ended in such a coldness towards all his family as left him entirely under the government of his wife.

“The indolent Elector contented himself with showing his resentment by his silence towards

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him ; and this was the situation the family first appeared in when they came into England. This behaviour did not, however, hinder schemes being laid by various persons of gratifying their ambition, or making their fortunes, by particular attachments to each of the Royal Family."

APPENDIX C

LETTER TO DR. BIRCH FROM THE REV. H. ETOUGH

" April 2, 1746.

"DEAR SIR,

" I herewith send you ye late King's character, for which I have no excuses of hurry and haste to offer. I have used my utmost care and skill both in assembling every important material, and in ye composition. If you have already recorded the Rebellion in 1719, what is here advanced may be deemed superfluous.

"I hope you have not failed exactly to notice ye late Lord Oxford's scheme which he offered before anything of the South Sea scheme was conceived. You remember what Mr. Walpole told us of Sunderland's bribing Sr. J. Eyles to desert ye support of it.

" The late King was expensive and vain in his amours. He had Kielmansegg and Platen besides Kendal to whom it is supposed ye late Archbishop of York married him. Two of these most imprudently and notoriously by their Brokers took money for all sorts of places. So did Bernstorff, Bothmer and Robethon. The embroils this occasioned are well remembered.

" The King had when he died for a Mistress one

of ye Bretts. Du Mont, p. 343, giveth an account of one of his amours, which showed much art and humour. The King was of a grave, easy, calm temper, did not love to talk but to hear others, so Gage became a Favourite. He seemeth not to have been skilfull in ye choice of favourites or very unlucky, or both his He's and She's were bitter bad. Bolingbroke would have prevailed had he lived. What fully amounts to this I am sure I had from the late Lord Oxford. Mr. H. Walpole has warmly rebuked me for this Report, but offered nothing solid in the way of contradiction.

"Tho' good-natured, ye King was obstinate to all and everything, besides the especial favourites, who did everything, and he most blindly acquiesced. His generosity was profuse, which was fatal under such an Accessionist [?] as Sunderland. When and where has there been a Prince with ears to hear and a heart to understand ?

"The later end of next week be so good as to assure me of ye receipt of this. If anything material not in ye print offers give me line or two. I would not by any means occasion an avocation from your great work, who am,

"Dear Sir,

"Your most obedient humble Servant,

"H. ETOUGH.

"The South Sea scheme was foundation and support of ye horrid disaffection we feel and lament. Less cannot be said than I have done, it would be foul partiality to be silent.

**"A REVIEW OF HIS REIGN AND YE KING'S
CHARACTER**

"Thus died George ye First, who may truly be considered as more fortunate in more important circumstances of his life and affairs than any Prince of ye last or present century. The Queen had high notions of hereditary right, and therefore in her private way of thinking could not forbear wishing ye Succession might be continued in what she deemed ye legitimate branch of her Father's family. Indefeazible and slavish notions in support of this right were avowed in numerous addresses. The King when Prince of Hanover had been sent hither with proposals for a marriage, ye proofs he then gave of a personal dislike are justly supposed to have produced lasting hatred and resentment. All proper preparations were made for ye execution of purposes, well understood, tho' not expressly avowed. The Ministers and all who had been ye sure and certain supports of ye Hanover Succession, had been disgraced. Many

favourable concessions were made to our often defeated enemies, ye friends and protectors of ye Pretender, both by interest and inclination. The administration of affairs was committed to the most daring and determined ; and the nation deluded into madness for destruction. But while our hearts were failing for fear of what was coming, ye Queen's sudden and unexpected death gave this worthy and amiable Prince an easy and unmolested accession to ye throne.

“ The King did not labour under King William's first very great and mischievous disadvantages. His and their country's enemies were well known, and could with no colour of right demand confidence and power. After great professions of submission and loyalty, many actually entered into rebellion, and greater numbers wished it success. The murmurings and complaints, which were occasioned by ye disgrace of ye general Ministry which had raised the credit and glory of the nation to an unknown height, were resented as unpardonable affronts to ye Royal Prerogative. And yet when ye successor removed those from whom he had received many indignities and of whose measures and designs to defeat him of regal dignity he had many undoubted proofs, this was represented as horrible partiality and injustice. In public and on ye most solemn

occasions, it was pleaded as a sufficient proof of the nation to rebellion. All punishments of the authors of so much misery and mischief were opposed under ye pretence of being acts of inhumanity and senseless cruelty."

APPENDIX D

THE ACT OF SETTLEMENT

“AN Act for the further Limitation of the Crown, and better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject.

“ WHEREAS in the first year of the Reign of your Majesty, and of our late most Gracious Sovereign Lady Queen MARY (of blessed Memory) an Act of Parliament was made, intituled, *An Act for declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and for settling the Succession of the Crown*, wherein it was (amongst other Things) enacted, established and declared, That the Crown and Regal Government of the Kingdoms of *England, France and Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, should be and continue to your Majesty and the said late Queen, during the Joint Lives of your Majesty and the said Queen, and to the Survivor: And that after the decease of your Majesty and of the said Queen the said Crown and Regal Government should be and remain to the Heirs of the Body of the said late Queen: And for Default of such Issue, to her Royal Highness the Princess ANNE of *Denmark*, and the Heirs

of her Body : And for Default of such Issue, to the Heirs of the Body of your Majesty. And it was thereby further enacted, That all and every Person and Persons that then were, or afterwards should be reconciled to, or should hold Communion with the See or Church of *Rome*, or should profess the Popish Religion, or marry a Papist, should be excluded, and are by that Act made for ever incapable to inherit, possess or enjoy the Crown and Government of this Realm and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, or any part of the same, or to have, use, or exercise any Regal Power, Authority or Jurisdiction within the same : And in all and every such Case and Cases the People of these Realms shall be and are thereby absolved of their Allegiance : And that the said Crown and Government shall from Time to Time descend to and be enjoyed by such Person or Persons, being Protestants, as should have inherited and enjoyed the same, in case the said Person or Persons, so reconciled, holding Communion, professing, or marrying as aforesaid, were naturally dead. After the making of which Statute, and the Settlement therein contained, your Majesty's good Subjects, who were restored to the full and free Possession and Enjoyment of their Religion, Rights, and Liberties, by the Providence of God

giving Success to your Majesty's just Undertakings and unwearied Endeavours for that Purpose, had no greater temporal Felicity to hope or wish for, than to use a Royal Progeny descending from your Majesty, to whom (under God) they owe their Tranquillity, and whose Ancestors have for many Years been principal Asserters of the reformed Religion and the Liberties of *Europe*, and from our said most Gracious Sovereign Lady, whose Memory will always be precious to the Subjects of these Realms : And it having since pleased Almighty God to take away our said Sovereign Lady, and also the most hopeful Prince WILLIAM, Duke of *Gloucester* (the only surviving Issue of her Royal Highness the Princess ANNE of *Denmark*) to the unspeakable grief and sorrow of your Majesty and your said good Subjects, who under such Losses being sensibly put in mind, that it standeth wholly in the Pleasure of Almighty God to prolong the Lives of your Majesty and of her Royal Highness, and to grant to your Majesty, or to her Royal Highness, such Issue as may be inheritable to the Crown and Regal Government aforesaid, by the respective Limitations in the said recited Act contained, do constantly implore the Divine Mercy for those Blessings : And your Majesty's said Subjects having daily Experience of your

Royal care and Concern for the present and future Welfare of these Kingdoms, and particularly recommending from your Throne a further Provision to be made for the Succession of the Crown in the Protestant Line, for the Happiness of the Nation and the Security of our Religion ; and it being absolutely necessary for the Safety, Peace and Quiet of this Realm, to obviate all Doubts and Contentions in the same, by reason of any pretended Title to the Crown, and to maintain a Certainty in the Succession thereof, to which your Subjects may safely have Recourse for their Protection, in case the Limitations in the said recited Act should determine : Therefore for a further provision of the Succession of the Crown in the Protestant line, we your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, do beseech your Majesty, that it may be enacted and declared, and be it enacted and declared by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That the most Excellent Princess SOPHIA, Electress and Duchess Dowager of Hanover, Daughter of the most Excellent Princess ELIZABETH, late

Queen of *Bohemia*, Daughter of the late Sovereign Lord King James the first, of happy Memory, be and is hereby declared to be next in Succession, in the Protestant Line, to the Imperial Crown and Dignity of the said Realms of *England, France and Ireland*, with the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging, after his Majesty and the Princess ANNE of *Denmark*, and for Default of Issue of the said Princess ANNE, and of his Majesty respectively : And that from and after the deceases of his said Majesty, our now Sovereign Lord, and of her Royal Highness the Princess ANNE of *Denmark*, and for Default of Issue of the said Princess ANNE, and of his Majesty respectively, the Crown and Regal Government of the said Kingdoms of *England, France and Ireland*, and of the Dominions thereunto belonging with the Royal State and Dignity of the said Realms, and all Honours, Stiles, Titles, Regalities, Prerogatives, Powers, Jurisdictions and Authorities, to the same belonging and appertaining, shall be, remain and continue to the said most Excellent Princess SOPHIA, and the Heirs of her Body, being Protestants : And thereunto the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, shall and will, in the Name of all the People of this Realm, most humbly and faithfully submit themselves their Heirs and Posterities ;

and do faithfully promise that after the Deceases of his Majesty, and her Royal Highness, and the failure of the Heirs of their respective Bodies, to stand to, maintain, and defend the said Princess SOPHIA, and the Heirs of her Body, being Protestants, according to the Limitation and Succession of the Crown in this Act specified and contained, to the utmost of their Powers, with their Lives and Estates, against all persons whatsoever that shall attempt any Thing to the contrary.

“II. Provided always, and it is hereby enacted, That all and every Person and Persons, who shall, or may take or inherit the said Crown, by virtue of the Limitation of this present Act, and is, or shall be reconciled to, or shall hold Communion with, the See or Church of *Rome*, or shall profess the Popish Religion, or shall marry a Papist, shall be subject to such Incapacities, as in such Case or Cases are by the said recited Act provided, enacted, and established; and that every King and Queen of this Realm, who shall come to and succeed in the Imperial Crown of this Kingdom, by virtue of this Act, shall have the Coronation Oath administered to him, her or them, at their respective Coronations, according to the Act of Parliament made in the first Year of the Reign of his Majesty, and the said late Queen

MARY, intituled, *An Act for establishing the Coronation Oath*, and shall make, subscribe, and repeat the Declaration in the Act first above recited, mentioned or referred to, in the Manner and Form thereby prescribed.

“III. And whereas it is requisite and necessary that some further Provision be made for securing our Religion, Laws and Liberties, from and after the Death of his Majesty and the Princess ANNE of *Denmark*, and in Default of Issue of the Body of the said Princess, and of his Majesty respectively; Be it enacted by the King’s most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, in Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same,

“THAT whosoever shall hereafter come to the Possession of this Crown, shall join in Communion with the Church of *England*, as by Law established.

“That in case the Crown and Imperial Dignity of this Realm shall hereafter come to any Person, not being a Native of this Kingdom of *England*, this Nation be not obliged to engage in any War for the Defence of any Dominions or Territories which do not belong to the Crown of *England*, without the Consent of Parliament !

“That no Person who shall hereafter come to the Possession of this Crown, shall go out of

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the Dominions of *England, Scotland, or Ireland*, without Consent of Parliament.

“That from and after the Time that the further Limitation by this Act shall take Effect, all Matters and Things relating to the well governing of this Kingdom, which are properly cognizable in the Privy Council by the Laws and Customs of this Realm, shall be transacted there, and all Resolutions taken thereupon shall be signed by such of the Privy Council as shall advise and consent to the same.¹

“That after the said Limitation shall take Effect as aforesaid, no Person born out of the Kingdoms of *England, Scotland, or Ireland*, or the Dominions thereunto belonging (although he be naturalized or made a Denizen, except such as are born of *English* Parents) shall be capable to be of the Privy Council, or a Member of either House of Parliament, or to enjoy any Office or Place of Trust, either Civil or Military, or to have any Grant of Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments from the Crown, to himself or to any other or others in Trust for him.

“That no Person who has an Office or Place of Profit under the King, or receives a Pension from the Crown, shall be capable of serving as a Member of the House of Commons.²

¹ Repealed by 4 Ann. c. 8 § 25.

² Repealed by 4 Ann. c. 8 § 25.

“That after the said Limitation shall take Effect as aforesaid, Judges’ Commissions be made *Quamdiu se bene gesserit*, and their Salaries ascertained and established ; but upon the Address of both Houses of Parliament it may be lawful to remove them.

“That no Pardon under the Great Seal of *England* be pleadable to an Impeachment by the Commons in Parliament.

“IV. And whereas the Laws of *England* are the Birth-right of the People thereof, and all the Kings and Queens, who shall ascend the Throne of this Realm, ought to administer the Government of the same according to the said Laws, and all their Officers and Ministers ought to serve them respectively according to the same : The said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do therefore further humbly pray, That all the Laws and Statutes of this Realm for securing the established Religion, and the Rights and Liberties of the People thereof, and all other Laws and Statutes of the same now in Force, may be ratified and confirmed, and the same are by his Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, and by Authority of the same, ratified and confirmed accordingly.”

APPENDIX E

[NATURALIZATION BILL (4 Anne 4)]

“AN Act for the Naturalization of the Most Excellent Princess *Sophia*, Electress and Duchess Dowager of *Hanover*, and the Issue of her Body.

“WHEREAS the Imperial Crown and Dignity of the Realms of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, after the Demise and Death of your Majesty, our most gracious Sovereign, without Issue of your Body, is limited by Act of Parliament, to the most Excellent Princess *Sophia*, Electress and Duchess Dowager of *Hanover*, Granddaughter of the late King *James* the First, and the Heirs of her Body, being Protestants: And whereas your Majesty by your Royal Care and Concern for the Happiness of these Kingdoms, reigns in the Hearts and Affections of all your People, to their great Comfort and Satisfaction, and will be a glorious Example to your Royal Successors in future Ages: And to the end the said Princess *Sophia*, Electress and Duchess Dowager of *Hanover*, and the Issue of her Body, and all Persons lineally descending from her, may be encouraged

to become acquainted with the Laws and Constitutions of this Realm, it is just and highly reasonable, that they, in your Majesty's Life Time (whom God long preserve) should be naturalized, and be deemed, taken, and esteemed natural born Subjects of *England* : We your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual, Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, do most humbly beseech your Majesty that it may be enacted ; and therefore be it enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same. That the said Princess *Sophia*, Electress and Duchess Dowager of *Hanover*, and the Issue of her Body and all Persons lineally descended from her, born or hereafter to be born, be and shall be, to all Intents and Purposes whatsoever, deemed, taken and esteemed natural born Subjects of this Kingdom, as if the said Princess and the Issue of her Body, and all Persons lineally descending from her, born or hereafter to be born, had been born within this Realm of *England* ; any Law, Statute, Matter, or Thing whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding.

“ II. Provided always, and be it further enacted

and declared by the Authority aforesaid, That every Person and Persons, who shall be naturalized by virtue of this Act of Parliament, and shall become a Papist, or profess the Popish Religion, shall not enjoy any Benefit or Advantage of a natural born Subject of *England* ; but every such Person shall be adjudged and taken as an Alien, born out of the Allegiance of the Queen of *England*, to all Intents and Purposes whatsoever ; any Thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding."

APPENDIX F

[REGENCY ACT (6 Anne 7)]

"AN Act for the security of His Majesty's Person and Government, and of the successor to the Crown of Great Britain in the Protestant Line.

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"IV. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That this present Parliament or any other Parliament which shall hereafter be summoned and called by her Majesty Queen ANNE, her Heirs or Successors, shall not be determined or dissolved by the Death or Demise of her said Majesty, her Heirs or Successors, but such Parliament shall, and is hereby enacted to continue, and is hereby empowered and required, if fitting at the Time of such Demise, immediately to proceed to act, notwithstanding such Death or Demise, for and during the Term of six Months, and no longer, unless the same be sooner prorogued or dissolved by such Person to whom the Crown of this Realm of *Great Britain* shall come, remain and be, according to the Acts for limiting and settling the Succession, and for the Union above mentioned ;

and if the said Parliament shall be prorogued, then it shall meet and sit on and upon the Day unto which it shall be prorogued, and continue for the residue of the said Time for six Months, unless sooner prorogued or dissolved as aforesaid.

“V. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That if there be a Parliament in Being, at the time of the Death of her Majesty, her Heirs or Successors, but the same happens to be separated by Adjournment or Prorogation, such Parliament shall immediately after such Demise meet, convene and sit, and shall act, notwithstanding such Death or Demise, for and during the Time of six Months, and no longer, unless the same shall be sooner prorogued and dissolved as aforesaid.

“VI. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that in case there is no Parliament in Being at the time of such Demise that hath met and sat, then the last preceding Parliament shall immediately convene, and sit at Westminster, and be a Parliament to continue as aforesaid, to all Intents and Purposes, as if the same Parliament had never been dissolved, but subject to be prorogued and dissolved as aforesaid.

“VII. Provided always, and it is hereby declared, That nothing in this Act contained shall extend, or be construed to extend to alter or abridge the

Power of the Queen, her Heirs or Successors, to prorogue or dissolve Parliaments nor to repeal or make void one Act of Parliament made in *England* in the sixth Year of the Reign of their said late Majesties King WILLIAM and Queen MARY, intituled, *An Act for the Frequent Meeting and Calling of Parliaments* ; but the said Act shall continue in Force in every Thing that is not contrary to, or inconsistent with the Direction of this Act ; and the said Act for the frequent Meeting and Calling of Parliaments is hereby declared and enacted to extend to the Parliament of *Great Britain*, as fully and effectually, to all Intents, Constructions, and Purposes, as if the same were herein and hereby particularly recited and enacted.

“ VIII. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the Privy Council of her Majesty, her Heirs or Successors for the Kingdom of *Great Britain*, shall not be determined or dissolved by the Death or Demise of her Majesty, her Heirs or Successors ; but such Privy Council shall continue and act as such by the Space of six Months next after such Demise, unless sooner determined by the next Successor to whom the Imperial Crown of this Realm is limited and appointed to go, remain, and descend ; nor shall the office or Place of Lord Chancellor, or Lord

Keeper of the Great Seal of *Great Britain*, or of Lord High Treasurer of *Great Britain*, Lord President of the Council of *Great Britain*, Lord Privy Seal of *Great Britain*, Lord High Admiral of *Great Britain*, or any of the Great Officers of the Queen or King's Household for the Time being ; nor shall any Office, Place, or Employment, Civil or Military, within the Kingdoms of *Great Britain* or *Ireland*, Dominion of *Wales*, Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, Isles of *Jersey*, *Guernsey*, *Alderney*, and *Sarke*, or any of her Majesty's Plantations, become void by Reason of the Demise or Death of her present Majesty, her Heirs or Successors, Queens or Kings of this Realm ; but the said Lord Chancellor or Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *Great Britain*, the Lord High Treasurer of *Great Britain*, the Lord President of the Council, the Lord Privy Seal, the Lord High Admiral of *Great Britain*, the Great Officers of the Household, and every other Person and Persons in any of the Offices, Places, and Employments aforesaid, shall continue in their respective Offices, Places, and Employments, for the Space of six Months next after such Death or Demise, unless sooner removed and discharged by the next in Succession as aforesaid.

"IX. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the Great Seal of *Great Britain*,

the Privy Seal, Privy Signet, and all other Public Seals in Being, at the Time of the Demise of her Majesty, her Heirs or Successors, shall continue and be made use of as the respective Seals of the Successor, until such Successor shall give Order to the contrary.

"X. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That whensoever her Majesty (whom God long preserve) shall happen to demise and depart this life without Issue of her Body, the Privy Council for *Great Britain* in Being, at the Time of such Demise of her Majesty, shall with all convenient Speed cause the next Protestant Successor entitled to the Crown of *Great Britain*, by Virtue of the Acts before mentioned, to be openly and solemnly proclaimed in *Great Britain*, and *Ireland*, in such Manner and Form as the preceding Kings and Queens respectively have been usually proclaimed after the Demise of their respective Predecessors; and that all and every Member and Members of the said Privy Council, wilfully neglecting or refusing to cause such Proclamation to be made, shall be guilty of High Treason, and being thereof lawfully convicted, shall be adjudged Traitors, and shall suffer Pains of Death, and all Losses and Forfeitures as in Cases of High Treason; and also all and every Officer and Officers within the said

Kingdoms of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, who shall by the said Privy Council be required to make such Proclamations, and shall wilfully refuse or neglect to make the same, shall be guilty of High Treason, and being thereof lawfully convicted, shall be adjudged Traitors, and shall suffer Pains of Death, and all Losses and Forfeitures as in Cases of High Treason.

“XI. And because it may happen that the next Protestant Successor may, at the Time of such Demise of her Majesty, be out of the Realm of *Great Britain* in Parts beyond the Seas ; Be it therefore enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That for the continuing of the Administration of the Government in the Name of such Protestant Successor, until her or his Arrival in *Great Britain*, the seven Officers hereinafter named, who shall be in the Possession of their Offices at the Time of such Demise of her Majesty, that is to say, The Archbishop of *Canterbury* at that Time being, The Lord Chancellor or Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *Great Britain*, at that Time being, the Lord High Treasurer of *Great Britain* at that Time being, The Lord president of the Council for *Great Britain* at that Time being, the *Lord Privy Seal* of *Great Britain* at that Time being, the Lord High Admiral of *Great Britain* at that Time being, and the Lord Chief Justice of the *Queen's*

Bench at that Time being, shall be and are, by Virtue of this Act, constituted and appointed Lords Justices of *Great Britain*, and are and shall be, by Virtue of this Act, impowered in the name of such Successor, and in her and his Stead, to use, exercise, and execute all Powers, Authorities, Matters, and Acts of Government, and Administration of Government, in as full and ample Manner as such next Successor could use or execute the same, if she or he were present in person within this Kingdom of *Great Britain*, until such Successor shall arrive, or otherwise determine their Authority.

“XII. Nevertheless, be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That such person, who by the Limitations aforesaid is or shall be next to succeed to the Crown of this Realm, in case of her Majesty's Demise without Issue, shall and is hereby impowered at any time during her Majesty's life, by three Instruments under her or his Hand and Seal, revocable or to be altered at her and his Will and Pleasure, to nominate and appoint such and so many persons, being natural born Subjects of this Realm of *Great Britain*, as she or he shall think fit, to be added to the seven Officers before named, to be Lords Justices as aforesaid ; who shall be impowered, by Authority of this Act, to act with them as Lords Justices of

Great Britain, as fully and in the same manner as if they had been herein particularly named : Which said Lords Justices, or the major Part of them, which shall assemble, so as such major Part be not fewer than five, shall and may use and exercise all the Powers and Authorities before mentioned as fully and effectually, to all Intents and Purposes, as if all of them had been assembled together and consenting.

“XIII. And it be enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the said three Instruments, revocable and to be altered as aforesaid, whose Credentials shall be enrolled in the High Court of *Chancery*, and to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Lord Chancellor or Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *Great Britain*, close sealed up ; and after they are so transmitted, shall be put into several Covers, which shall be severally sealed up with three several Seals of such Resident, and of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and of the Lord Chancellor or Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *Great Britain* ; and one of them, after it is sealed up, shall be lodged and deposited in the Hands of such Resident, one other of them in the Hands of the said Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and one other of them in the hands of the Lord Chancellor or Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *Great Britain* : And that if the next Successor shall be minded to revoke or alter her

or his Nomination or Appointment made as aforesaid, and shall by three Writings of the same Tenor, under her or his Hand and Seal, require the said Instruments deposited as aforesaid, to be delivered up to some Person or Persons thereby authorised to receive the same ; then and in such Case the said Persons with whom the said Instruments shall be deposited, and every of them, and in case of any of their Deaths, their Executors or Administrators respectively, and every other person in whose Custody any of the said Instruments shall happen to be, shall deliver up the said Instruments accordingly ; and they are hereby respectively authorised and required so to do : And if any of the said Persons with whom the said Instruments shall be so deposited shall happen to die, or be removed from their respective Offices or Employments, during the Life of her present Majesty, such Person or Persons, and in case of any of their deaths, their Executors or Administrators respectively, and every other person in whose Custody any of the said Instruments shall happen to be, shall, with all convenient Speed, deliver such of them as shall be in his or their Custody, to the Successor or Successors of the person so dying or removed as aforesaid ; which said several Instruments so sealed up and deposited as aforesaid, shall

immediately, after the Demise of her Majesty without Issue, be brought before the Privy Council, where the same shall be forthwith opened and read, and afterwards inrolled in the High Court of *Chancery*.

“XIV. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That if any of the said persons with whom the said Instruments shall be deposited as aforesaid, or any of their Executors or Administrators, or any other Person in whose custody the same shall happen to be after the Deceases of any of the said Persons, shall open any of the said Instruments, or shall wilfully neglect or refuse to produce before the said Privy Council as aforesaid, such of the said Instruments as shall be in his or their Custody as aforesaid, every such Person so opening, neglecting or refusing shall incur the pains and penalties of a *Præmunire* inflicted by the said Statute of *Præmunire*.

“XV. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That if all the said Instruments deposited as aforesaid, shall not be produced before the said Privy Council as aforesaid, then any one or more of the said Instruments so produced as aforesaid, shall be as effectual to give such Authority as aforesaid, to the persons therein named, as if all of them had been produced. And if there be not any Nomination by such

Instruments, then the said seven Officers, or any five of them, are constituted and appointed to be Lords Justices of *Great Britain*, and are hereby invested with the powers and Authorities mentioned in this Act.

“XVI. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That any Nomination and Appointment already made by the next Successor, signified by such Instruments deposited as aforesaid, pursuant to the said former Act for the better Security of her Majesty’s Person and Government, and of the Succession to the Crown of *England* in the Protestant Line, shall be deemed and taken to be as effectual for constituting and appointing the Persons so nominated Lords Justices of *England* to be Lords Justices of *Great Britain*, to all Intents, Constructions and Purposes as if such Nomination and Appointment were made pursuant to this Act.

“XVII. And be it further enacted, That the said Lords Justices constituted as aforesaid, shall not dissolve the Parliament continued and ordered to assemble and sit as aforesaid, without express Direction from such succeeding Queen or King ; and that the said Lords Justices shall be, and are hereby restrained and disabled from giving the Royal Assent in Parliament to any Bill or Bills for the repealing or altering the Act made in

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England in the thirteenth and fourteenth Years of the Reign of King CHARLES the Second, intituled, Act for the Uniformity of publick Prayers, and Administration of Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies ; and for establishing the Form for making, ordaining, and consecrating Bishops, Priests, and Deacons in the Church of England ; or the Act made in Scotland in the last Session of Parliament there, intituled, Act for securing the Protestant Religion, and Presbyterian Church Government ; and all and every the said Lords Justices concurring in giving the Royal Assent to any Bill or Bills for repealing or altering the said Acts, or either of them, shall be guilty of High Treason, and suffer and forfeit as in Cases of High Treason."

APPENDIX G

[PRECEDENCE BILL (10 Anne 4)]

“AN Act for settling the Precedence of the most Excellent Princess *Sophia*, Electress and Duchess Dowager of *Hanover*, of the Elector, her Son, and the Electoral Prince the Duke of *Cambridge*.

“WHEREAS by the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, the Imperial Crown and Dignity of the Kingdoms of *Great Britain*, *France* and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, after the Demise and Death of your Majesty, our most gracious Sovereign, whom God long preserve in Health and Prosperity, for the Happiness and Good of your Subjects, and in Default of Issue of your Majesty's Body, is limited to the most Excellent Princess *Sophia*, Electress and Duchess Dowager of *Hanover*, Grand-daughter of the late King JAMES the First, and the Heirs of her Body, being Protestants; and your Majesty having, out of your great affection and Regard

to the said most Excellent Princess Sophia, Electress and Duchess Dowager of *Hanover*, and the Heirs of her Body, being Protestants signified your Royal Pleasure to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, to have their Precedence settled by Act of Parliament, in Manner as is hereinafter mentioned : We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, do most humbly beseech your Majesty, that it may be enacted ; and therefore be it enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That after the Royal Issue of your Majesty's Body, the said most Excellent Princess *Sophia*, Electress and Duchess Dowager of *Hanover*, the most Serene Elector of *Brunswick Lunenburgh*, her Son and Heir Apparent, the most Noble *George Augustus*, Electoral Prince of *Hanover*, and Duke of *Cambridge*, only Son of the said most Serene Elector, and also the Heirs of the Body of the said most Excellent Princess *Sophia*, Electress and Duchess Dowager of *Hanover*, being Protestants, in all Places, and upon all Occasions, shall have Rank and Precedence, and take

Place, before the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and all Great Officers, and the Dukes, and all other Peers of these Realms; any Law, Statute, or Custom whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding."

APPENDIX H

[AN Act giving Permission to the Sovereign to go out of his Dominions without seeking Consent of Parliament.]

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“An Act for repealing so much of the Act of the twelfth and thirteenth Years of the Reign of King *William* the Third, intituled, *An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown, and better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject*, as enacts, That no Person who should come to the Possession of the Crown, shall go out of the Dominions of *England, Scotland or Ireland*, without Consent of Parliament.

“WHEREAS it has pleased Almighty God to place his Majesty on the Throne of his Ancestors, and farther to bless these Nations with a numerous Progeny of his Majesty's Royal Family, and in particular, with a Prince endowed with all Virtues and Qualifications requisite to render Posterity flourishing and happy : And whereas it is agreeable to the ancient Constitution of these Kingdoms, that the Person of the King or Queen

should freely enjoy all and every the just and undoubted Rights, Liberties and Privileges of the Crown : And whereas by an Act of Parliament passed in the twelfth and thirteenth years of the Reign of our late Sovereign Lord King *William the Third* (of glorious Memory) intituled, *An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown, and better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject*, It was (amongst other Things) enacted, That no person who should thereafter come to the Possession of the Crown, should go out of the Dominions of *England Scotland or Ireland*, without Consent of Parliament, which restriction may prove inconvenient with regard to the Service of our Sovereign Lord the King (by God's Mercy now possessed of the Crown), and of His Heirs and Successors : Be it therefore enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That the Clause in the said recited Act contained, which provided and enacted that no Person who should come to the Possession of the Crown should go out of the Dominions of *England, Scotland or Ireland*, without Consent of Parliament, and the Restriction by the same Clause meant or

intended, are and shall be repealed, and shall for ever be and be deemed and taken to be void and of none Effect; any Thing in the said recited Act, or any other Act to the contrary notwithstanding."

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